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MALAYA

By the same Author

A BURMESE ENCHANTMENT
A BURMESE LONELINESS
A BURMESE WONDERLAND
A BURMESE ARCADY
RACES OF BURMA
ETC.

(*F. W. Majer*)

WHERE TIME HAS PAUSED

At ease in his *Kampong*, the Malay, in mild reproof, watches the fret and worry of 1927. Blessed are they that live in *Kampongs*, for they shall have silk and cigars.

MALAYA

An Account of its People, Flora and Fauna

By

Major C. M. ENRIQUEZ, F.R.G.S.

2/20 Burma Rifles

("*THEOPHILUS*")

"*Berlayer angan angan*"

("Sail with me to those Castles in Spain")

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TO

ALICE

(Aged Six)

The Companion of my Travels:
The Destroyer of my Peace.

"*Ungentle Alice, thy sorrow is my sore;*
Thou know'st it well, and 'tis thy policy
To forge distressful looks, to wound a breast
Where lies a heart that dies when thou art sad."

Charles Lamb.

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Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple,
Who have faith in God and Nature,
Who believe that in all ages
Every human heart is human,
That in even savage bosoms
There are longings, yearnings, strivings,
For the good they comprehend not,
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in the darkness
And are lifted up and strengthened.

LONGFELLOW.

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PREFACE

There appears to be no consecutive history of the Malay Archipelago. There is, however, a vast though scattered literature to which first and foremost a generous acknowledgment is due. In the matter of research, the Malay Peninsula is more fortunate than adjacent countries like Burma as regards modern history—though not as regards ancient history. The Peninsula is particularly poor in archæological and epigraphical remains. In the realms of zoology and botany, Malaya is far ahead of Burma, where practically nothing has been done: but, on the other hand, ethnology and history are well advanced in Burma, which, indeed, offers a field incomparably more extensive and interesting. And here it must be stated that the research set forth in these pages was begun in the hope of elucidating Burmese problems whose secrets often lie hidden in neighbouring countries. On the whole, the study of Malayan affairs has thrown little light on Burma. The work took unexpected courses, and developed on Malayan lines: for, in spite of its land-connection with Asia, the Malay Peninsula belongs, not to the mainland, but rather to the Archipelago—is, indeed, an essential part of it.

In the historical sense, then, Malaya is still groping in the darkness. Theories have been put forward

which have gradually assumed the semblance of probability, or have been accepted as proved: and these have become fixed points for casting still further back into the mysterious unknown. Many and unexpected are the links of evidence. The elucidation of geographical history, involving the loss of continents, is achieved by such unobtrusive witnesses as birds, butterflies, plants and insects. And the story of man, though its beginning is obscure, has at least been pushed further and further back into the misty past.

And these are the foundations of true history. History is not really a 'River of Kings'—especially not of Malayan kings, who from the beginning have loathed, mistrusted and murdered their relatives—more particularly their uncles. Their story belongs rather to biography than to history—and to the biography of a splendid but monotonous selfishness. They are important only in so far as they influence the destinies of their subjects, or when their deeds, or misdeeds, lead directly to social and political consequences. For history, so far as it relates to Man, is the record of that lower cattle, called 'The People'—the tale of their pathetic struggle to better their conditions, to find something profitable and sweet in life: and the story of their frequent relapses into darkness and misery.

And in passing, we note with wonder how millions live and die obscurely—loving, hating and striving, but leaving no impression upon the Sands of Time: while here and there individuals appear whose every act is destined to influence the lives of many generations in their own country, or in others.

And because of these pregnant influences, we must, in regarding the history of the Malay Peninsula, look far afield over the Archipelago, and much further even than that, if we would understand. Geographically, as we have noted, the Peninsula belongs to the Malay Archipelago, and not to the Asiatic continent, to which it happens to be joined by an impassable isthmus thirty-five miles wide. And, further, the evolution of this corner of the World is mixed up with enterprises which caused one of the greatest revolutions in history—a revolution that upset existing conditions in Europe almost as much as they did in Asia. For East and West had both evolved their own culture, ideals, trade, wealth and civilization: each only dimly aware of the other's existence: and when suddenly the barriers that separated them were cast down, there followed inevitably a vast structural readjustment of Society, of which we have by no means yet seen the completion.

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MALAYA

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS PEOPLE, FLORA AND FAUNA

CHAPTER I

IN THE BEGINNING

1. The south-eastern portion of Asia is a region whose geography is mainly dependent on mountain structure. To understand the formation of the Malay Peninsula, it is necessary first to examine certain great geological events that gave it its present form and shape. Of these events, the first was a tremendous folding of the earth's crust, due either to pressure from the poles or from the equator, or to shrinkage, or to the slowing down of the planet's rotary motion. Whatever the cause of the folding, mountain systems were formed at two distinct periods, of which the first was so remote that those ancient uplands have almost disappeared under the assault of countless rains. Only their stumps remain in the form of plateaux, like those of Yünnan and the Shan States. But their structure can still be seen in the walls of great trenches which have been dug by rivers like the Irrawaddy, Salween and Mekong.

2. The second upheaval of mountains created the Alps, Himalayas and the uplands of Ssuchuan and

Central China, with a great southern arc through Burma and Malaya. Some geologists, like Professor Gregory,[1] believe that this titanic folding of the crust occurred in mid-Permian times; while others[2] ascribe to them a much later date—namely, Miocene. If the earlier period is correct, then certainly subsidiary movements, causing the submergence of much land, must have continued for long ages, and probably—as we shall see later—till human times.

3. East Africa and Southern Asia originally formed one continent, but a great part of it sank into the Indian Ocean when the pressure had been relieved by the buckling of the mountains; and this general subsidence, together with local ones, by accelerating the flow of the rivers, hastened the denudation of surrounding countries like Burma and Malaya. In Eocene times a sea extended over what is now Lower Burma and beat upon the feet of the Shan Plateau and on the base of Mt. Popa, then an active volcano. Later, the Irrawaddy Valley was slightly raised: and at some period not very remote, the continent of the Indian Ocean must have emerged again from the sea, at least in parts. Probably the whole of it was never submerged at any one time, and living things survived here and there, until it finally sank back into the

[1] *Journal, Royal Geographical Society* for March, 1923.

[2] Wells' *Outline of History*, and Wallace's *Australasia*, page 384.

waves, leaving—as we shall see—a remnant of its fauna on the Island of Celebes.

. . . . . .

4. We must now consider the effect of these colossal events on the Malay Peninsula which, as we have noted, was raised up along with the mountains of Burma, as a great southern branch spreading from the main Alpine, Himalayan and Chinese upheaval.

5. Structurally, the Malay Peninsula consists of a granite core forming a backbone of central mountains, with palæozoic clays and limestones on either side. The respective ages of these rocks, as Mr. Tennison Wood[1] has pointed out, are probably the same as the order in which they are given. First, there is what is now granite: above that clays now largely laterite: and above that again limestone which was probably of vast thickness.

6. Then came the upheaval. The granite smashed through both the overlying formations, laying them on either side of what is now the central range.

7. The country was left much higher than it is to-day, but it is evident that there has been an immense denudation, not only of the softer clays and soluble limestones, but also of the hard granite core.

[1] Tennison Wood, *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales*, Volume IX.

The levelling down and lowering of the Peninsula is therefore due primarily to erosion of rain and the action of rivers, and not to any great subsidence. In recent times deforestation has accentuated denudation. Without the protection of trees, the soil will not stand at more than a certain angle; and the silting up of the prosperous little town of Kuala Kubu is an example of what happens when forests are interfered with.

8. The central granite mountains, that now stand high above the other rocks, rise in places to 7000 feet. But a number of subsidiary ranges have also been thrown out, such as those of Kedah, Langkawi, Penang, Larut, Bubu, Pangkor, Kinta and Malacca, and these have helped to broaden the Peninsula, which in its widest part is two hundred miles across. The granites are coarse and bluish, clearly metamorphic, and in places still schistose.

9. The clays are palæozoic, and much decomposed. In places they are contorted and metamorphosed into a sort of gneiss, though traces of stratification survive. One of the commonest results of decomposition of these clays by rain, is to turn them into the familiar red earth that we call 'laterite.' They have been much denuded, and now form small hills, or lie along the base of the main ranges, or in the valleys and plains, where they have no very great thickness.

10. The limestones as we know them—abrupt, pre-

(F. W. Major)

GUNONG BUBU

The backbone of the Malay Peninsula is granite with subsidiary granite ranges thrown off. Such a range is that of which Gunong Bubu is the highest peak.

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cipitous and picturesque—are all that remain of a once thick and extensive formation that spread over Tenasserim, Lower Burma, and even as far north as Kokang in the Shan States,[1] and whose limits in that direction show the extent of ancient seas before the mountains were raised. Being highly soluble, they have suffered a tremendous destruction from the constant rain that has poured down upon them. They are now seldom more than 1500 feet high in Malaya, though in Moulmein peaks like Zwegabin are higher,[2] and are full of caves both on the cliff faces and internally. In such caves tin, and even the débris of granite, are sometimes found high above the present level of the streams, mute witnesses of that vast destruction that has isolated them. These limestones are stratified, but no fossils have been found; though it is hardly credible that none exist. Their shapes are often extraordinary, with canyons and pinnacles and vertical precipices coloured blue, grey and pink. The vegetation on such hills is altogether different from that growing on granite or clay.

11. Finally, we must notice the minor deposits that have resulted from the break up of the major formations. The most important are the 'Quaternary Drifts' that now fill the plains and valleys.

[1] *Races of Burma*, para. 230.

[2] *A Burmese Wonderland*, pages 40 and 41.

These ' drifts ' of alluvium have been carried down and deposited by the ever shifting streams and rivers, and are so recent that timber buried at some depth is still fit for firewood. Such beds are not usually more than from 10 to 30 feet thick, and are composed of a débris of everything else—clay, sand, gravel, pebbles, granite, mica and tin. Their 'bottom' is usually the clay: and as tin sinks low, the ' bottom ' of the tin is the clay also.

12. The history of this tin, which is an inexhaustible source of wealth to the country, is simply this:—Tin existed in small, scattered crystals in the granite, particularly at the point where the granite and clay met. There it was liberated by weathering: and succeeding rains carried it down to the plains, where it sank low in the thin alluvial drifts.

13. Out along the coast is another new deposit of importance—the mud-flats, or ' Mangrove,' which usually fringe the sea except in rare places where hills rise steeply from the water. These flats, of course, are formed by the detritus suspended in, and now let fall by, the earth-laden rivers. These creations of new land are evidence of the fact that the Peninsula now suffers no subsidence or upheaval, but, in spite of highly volcanic neighbours across the narrow straits, is stationary and fixed.

14. The original extent and shape of the land were

LIMESTONE PEAKS

The limestones—abrupt, precipitous, picturesque—are all that remain of a once extensive formation.

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very different from what they are now. The Asiatic continent extended farther south and included Sumatra and Java, and farther east across the Gulf of Siam to Borneo. But with a line drawn round the coasts of Borneo and Bali, Asia ended definitely in an ocean abyss across which, in places only fifteen miles distant, lay another mass of land—the Continent of Australia. The lost portions of Asia and Australia are now represented by shallow seas, but between them is an almost unfathomable trench. The shapes of these continents may have been approximately that of the present 100-fathom contour, but it must not be supposed that land submerged or emerged all at once. On the contrary, there is evidence to show that such movements took place at different times and at many places; and that of the present islands of the Archipelago, Java was the first to be cut off from the Asiatic mainland by the subsidence of the intervening country: then Borneo: and then, in comparatively recent times, Sumatra. There were, further, a number of upheavals and subsidences, successively connecting and severing the great islands to and from each other and the mainland. Such movements, as we shall see presently, occurred long after the advent of animal life, and probably in human times.

15. The more one contemplates these processes of Nature, and the absolute indifference with which She

deals out what is kind and what is cruel, the more evident it becomes that we, as individuals, are less than nothing in the scheme of things. Some there be who cry to Heaven, appeal to its vanity, rouse its pity. Who shall say that it is vain? Yet the evidence of history, chemistry, geology and, above all, the devastating facts of astronomy, reveal in all its horrid coldness a System—wonderful, precise, adaptive—but apparently accidental, and wholly blind: creating with patient toil, destroying with serene indifference. So, without passion, the System of the Universe follows its cosmic law—Cause and Effect.

. . . . . .

16. In the darkness of that geological era gleams one point of light. One individual incident we know. There was a man, or rather an ape, who had become definitely human, and his name is *Pithecanthropus erectus;* and, in spite of rivals, he still remains the oldest known form of human being. He came to Java probably from the Continent to the south which has since sunk into the Indian Ocean. At any rate, he died in Java, where his thigh-bone and part of his skull and jaw were found in 1882. We know a good deal now about *Pithecanthropus.* He stood upright. The temporal region of his brain proves that he had acquired a rudimentary form of speech. While

(*Capt. W. E. Rivers*)

TIN MINES

Particles of tin have been washed down from the mountains to the clay drifts of the plains. The yearly export of tin from the Federated Malay States alone is worth 5¾ million pounds. Above is shown a Chinese mine of primitive type, and below a modern dredger.

the ordinary cranial development of a gorilla is 573 c.c., his was 900 c.c. The lowest capacity of a modern man of normal mentality is 950 c.c.: that of Leibnitz 1422 c.c., and of Bismarck 1965 c.c. The resurrection by Science of men and things that have passed beyond memory into the darkness of Time—the resurrection, above all, of this remote ancestor of our race—is one of the most romantic achievements of this age.

CHAPTER II

A CHAPTER OF ACCIDENTS

17. The Malay Archipelago is usually given an insignificant place in the Atlas. As Siberia is unduly enlarged by Mercator's Projection, so, on the other hand, the Malay Archipelago suffers in popular estimation by inadequate presentation. But, as Wallace has pointed out, its dimensions are really continental. "If transferred to Europe, and the western extremity placed on Land's End, New Guinea would spread over Turkey, and the Solomon Islands would reach to the Punjab." Of its islands, New Guinea and Borneo are the largest in the world.

18. This great Archipelago affords some unusual problems. The climate, vegetation and fauna present curious contrasts; and the origin of the inhabitants has so far defied investigation. The geological structure is comparatively simple, but has undergone great geographical changes. One part of it contains the Earth's greatest chain of volcanoes, while other parts appear to be altogether free from subterranean disturbances. Certain areas are arid, where the prevailing winds blow across Australia and lose their moisture; but the greater part of the Archipelago is drenched with constant rain and is clothed in dense, wet forest. In a few places there are well-marked monsoons, but in most the climate is much the same all the year

PACIFIC
NEW GUINEA
TORRES STS
Gulf of CARPENTARIA
AUSTRALIA
British sphere
Ocean Deeps
Shallow seas
MOLUCCA ISLES
GILOLO
BOURU
CERAM
AMBOINA
BANDA
PHILIPPINES
MANILA
CHINA SEA
CELEBES SEA
CELEBES
TIMOR
HANDANA
SUMBAWA
BALI
LOMBOK
MADURA
JAVA
BORNEO
MARUDU BAY
JESSELTON
LABUAN
BRUNEI
SARAWAK
PONTIANAK
SINGAPORE
SUMATRA
PALEMBANG
BENCOOLEN
ACHIN
PENANG
TAIPING
MALAY PENINSULA
SIAM
BANGKOK
G. of SIAM
COCHIN CHINA
G. of Tong King
HAINAM
CHRISTMAS ISLES
KEELING ISLES
GENERAL MAP OF MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

round, so that it is hardly possible to divide the seasons into dry and wet.

19. And there is another contrast that carries with it most important consequences, namely, that one half of the Archipelago is divided by very shallow seas from the Asiatic Continent, while the other is separated by shallow seas from the Continent of Australia ; and these two areas, with their remarkable dissimilarity of animal products, nearly meet, but not quite. Nor have they ever met, though the straits that now divide them between the Islands of Bali and Lombok are hardly fifteen miles wide. For east of Borneo and Bali lies that tremendous ocean abyss to which we have already referred, that has divided at all times the Continents of Asia and Australia. And, roughly speaking, that same line that divides the animals of two continents is also the boundary between Malayan races on the one side, and Papuan and Polynesian on the other. Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo are of Asia: Gilolo, Ceram, Timor and New Guinea are of Australia.

20. And between them at the widest part lies the Island of Celebes, that is neither Asian nor Australian, but is probably the relic of another continent that has disappeared into the sea.

21. The contrasts of the Archipelago therefore

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resolve themselves as follows:—Volcanic and non-volcanic: forest and dry zone: monsoon and non-monsoon: Indo-Malaya and Austro-Malaya.

. . . . . .

22. With regard to the volcanoes, the belt, indicating a great line of weakness in the Earth's crust, passes through the Archipelago in a sweeping curve five thousand miles long, marked by scores of active and hundreds of extinct craters through the whole length of Sumatra and Java, and thence through the islands of Bali, Lombok, Flores, Banda and Amboyna to North Celebes and the Philippines. The zone is narrow; and on either side the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Celebes and New Guinea have no known volcanoes, and are apparently not subject to serious disturbances.

23. Of these volcanoes, at least fifty are continually active, and a great number have erupted within the last three centuries. Literally hundreds of peaks are of volcanic origin, and may break forth at any moment into renewed activity. The Island of Java, with forty-five volcanoes, many of them over 10,000 feet high, has a greater number than any area in the world of like size. Sumatra has fewer, but still a great many. The rocks of these islands are partly stratified, but are more often of purely volcanic origin. The amount of material that has been cast forth must be immense,

and may well account for the subsidence of those areas which are now shallow seas.

24. The Archipelago supplies a whole list of historic explosions of the first order. The Island of Makian was rent in half by a huge chasm in 1646. In 1699 there was a frightful earthquake in Batavia. The eruption of Timboro in 1815 wrecked the Island of Sambawa, and is perhaps the second worst on record. Twelve thousand people lost their lives. In 1822 Papandayan blew up with hardly any warning. Forty Javanese villages were destroyed and a mountain blown to pieces. Then on the 29th of December, 1862, Makian, after a quiescence of two hundred and fifteen years, broke out again into devastating activity. The earthquake of Jokjakarta in 1867 was also attended with great loss of life.

25. However, none of these eruptions, terrific though they were, can compare with that of Krakatoa, which culminated on the 27th of August, 1883. Krakatoa is, or was, an island in the Straits of Sunda, between Java and Sumatra. In May of that year it became active, increasing in violence until the 27th of August, when a detonation occurred that was heard for a distance of a thousand miles. At two o'clock the following morning the crater collapsed, and the inflowing sea caused an explosion that shattered the island, and defies all description. Rock and ash were

shot up a distance of seventeen miles, and a cloud of dust swept round the world causing 'Krakatoa sunsets' even in England. "It seemed," says the Dutch writer Cabaton, "as though the amazing convulsions of this unfortunate island would shatter the very foundation of the globe. All Java was shaken by subterranean shocks, and by the sound of distant cannonade." The coasts of the Straits of Sunda on both sides were devastated by a gigantic wave 120 feet high, or, as some say, by two waves; and forty thousand people were swept away. The whole southern end of Mount Krakatoa disappeared, and was replaced by a chasm 1000 feet deep.

26. Frightful as the casualties were, they are nothing out of the ordinary for such disturbances, Krakatoa being a small island, and Sumatra thinly populated. In the 1923 Japanese earthquake 99,300 persons perished: 180,000 were killed in the Chinese earthquake of 1920: and 300,000 in the Indian earthquake of 1737. The sea-wave of Sanriku (Japan) in 1896 was 93 feet high.

. . . . . .

27. It was Earl, in 1840, who pointed out the existence of the shallow seas by which Sumatra, Java and Borneo are divided from the Asiatic Continent, while similar shallow seas separate New Guinea and

the adjacent islands from Australia: but he was not in possession of other facts that have since lent significance to his discovery. Geology teaches that the surface of the land is constantly changing. Further, it is known that the forms of life inhabiting a land are also subject to change, or at any rate were subject to change in what Beccari (of whom more later) calls the 'Plastic Age.' Putting these facts together, the great naturalist Wallace, who spent many years examining the flora and fauna of the Archipelago, evolved what may be called the 'Wallace Theory.'

"We find," he says, "that those islands the animal productions of which are identical with those of adjacent countries, have been joined to them within comparatively recent times, such unity being in most cases indicated by the existence of shallow seas dividing them: while in the case where the natural products of two adjacent countries are very different, they have been separated at a more remote epoch—a fact generally indicated by a deeper sea now dividing them. The reason is obvious. For example, let a subsidence take place, cutting off any portion of a continent, and forming an island, the organic productions of the two areas are at first identical, but they are not permanent: and thus in time the animals and plants of the island come to differ from those of the country from which it was severed: and if the

subsidence is deepened there will come a time when such differences become marked, and if there is a very long separation the diversity becomes almost total as between two continents where not only species, but groups and families and orders become different, and from such evidence we may assume very ancient separation."

28. Now the whole sea separating Asia (that is, the Malay Peninsula and Siam) from Sumatra, Java and Borneo is only 50 fathoms deep, so that an elevation of 300 feet would join up these islands with the mainland and add an immense area to the continent: and we have seen how easily rises and falls may have occurred in a region so highly volcanic. That such oscillations are still possible is evident from the statistics of recent earthquakes. Elevations of 35 feet are recorded in the Assam earthquake of 1897, and of 47 feet in the Alaskan earthquake of 1899. In the Japanese disaster of 1st of September, 1923, the maximum uplift was 25 feet at Misaki, though subsequently the land sank at the rate of 2 inches a day till the rise was reduced to 4 feet 7 inches. But the changes that occurred in the bed of Sagami Bay—the seat of disturbance—were much greater, and were not produced entirely at the time of the main shock, but continued for several months, and may still be continuing. The greatest depression was no less than

400 fathoms, and the greatest uplift 250 fathoms.[1] Japan lies in the same volcanic belt that passes through Sumatra and Java, and a similar elevation of sea-bed anywhere in the Archipelago would profoundly alter its geography.

29. Great significance, therefore, attaches to the distribution of the local flora and fauna, of which much evidence has been collected by Wallace and later explorers. And this is what we find. Tigers occur in Sumatra, Java and the Malay Peninsula, but not in Borneo. Elephants occupy the Peninsula and Sumatra, but not Java, and they are probably not indigenous to Borneo. The tapir is found in the Peninsula and Borneo, but not in Java. The orang-utan occurs in Sumatra and Borneo, but not in Java or the Peninsula. The 'sladang' of the Peninsula, and the 'banting' of Java and Sumatra, are both present in Borneo: while the wild cattle of Borneo, which are absent from the Peninsula, are of the same family as the South Indian bison. (There is, however, an extremely rare wild cow in Kelantan called 'sapi.') Of 25 Malayan squirrels, only two species extend to Siam and Burma. The proboscis monkey (*Presbytes nasutus*) occurs only in Borneo: and the peacock is absent. Of 270 species of Java birds, 40 are peculiar to that island, suggesting a very long isolation. Of

[1] *Journal, Royal Geographical Society* for January, 1925.

350 birds inhabiting Java and Borneo, not more than 10 have passed across the Straits to Celebes. About 10 of the Papilios of Borneo occur there only. Generally speaking, the fauna of Sumatra is closely related to that of the Peninsula, suggesting recent connection: but is closer to that of distant Borneo than to that of its immediate neighbour Java, from which it has been long isolated. 12 nepenthes, 16 figs and 110 palms are peculiar to Borneo.

30. Now most of the animals mentioned above could not have crossed wide seas. Their existence on the islands clearly indicates that land communication existed since the origin of these species: while the peculiar way in which they are distributed suggests that the various islands sank and rose, or were joined to and cut off from, the mainland and each other, at different and varying times. The distribution of birds and insects suggests the same conclusion, since it is known that birds, particularly passers, do not readily cross even narrow expanses of sea. Many of the birds of the Malay Peninsula are entirely absent from Java.

31. This line of enquiry, started and developed by Wallace in 1869, is being continually improved. There is still much to learn of the manner in which living things cross the ocean. Seeds float and are carried in various ways, and, generally speaking, the

vegetation of the whole Archipelago in its damp parts is of one ' Malayan ' type. Bats can and do fly across the sea, but the land-birds seem only to be able to do so to a limited extent. Insects and small animals can be rafted on branches and drift wood. In this connection the re-stocking of Krakatoa, where all kinds of life were obliterated in 1883, is being watched with interest. In 1908 no terrestrial mammals existed on the island, but by 1921 it was overrun by rats. In that year also there were two species of gecko, a varanus lizard, a python, eleven kinds of wingless insects, four of centipedes and millipedes, and no less than seventy-three species of spiders. The python and lizard are strong swimmers. The spiders might have been blown across the sea on their gossamer webs. But any inferences to be drawn from this case must be modified by the proximity of the mainlands of Java and Sumatra, and the favourable set of currents from them down the Straits towards Krakatoa.

32. Java possesses more birds and insects peculiar to itself than does either Sumatra or Borneo, and this seems to indicate that Java was the first to be separated from the continent. On the other hand, the fauna of Sumatra is so nearly identical with that of the Malay Peninsula, that we may safely conclude that it became separated from the mainland only in quite recent geological times.

"Beginning at the period when the Java Sea, the Gulf of Siam, and the Straits of Malacca were dry land, forming with Borneo, Java and Sumatra a vast Southern Extension of the Asiatic Continent, the first movement was probably the sinking of the Java Sea as the result of volcanic activity, leading to the complete and early separation of Java. Later Borneo, and afterwards Sumatra, became detached —and since then many other elevations and depressions have taken place."[1]

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33. It must be remembered that the literature of this difficult subject, extending as it does over the explorations of over half a century, is necessarily obscure, scattered and often contradictory. But if we have here made a clear statement with regard to the Indo-Malayan end of the Archipelago, it remains to consider the separation of the two continental areas —Indo- and Austro-Malaya. A study of the 100-fathom contour suggests, as we have said, the limits of Asia: and that continent would appear never to have extended beyond the ocean deeps east of Bali and Borneo. A further dissimilarity of the fauna confirms the supposition.

[1] Wallace.

34. Wallace says:—

"The contrast between the two divisions of the Archipelago is abruptly demonstrated in crossing the 15-mile straits from Bali to Lombok. In Bali (Asiatic side) we have barbets, trogons, minivets, drongos, wood-peckers; while in passing to Lombok these are seen no more, and we have instead cockatoos, honey-suckers and bush-turkeys which are typical of Australia. In two hours we may pass from one great division of the Earth to another, the difference in animal life being as great as that between Europe and America. On the Asiatic side the common animals of the forest are monkeys, wild-cat, deer, otters and squirrel: while beyond the great ocean trench there are no apes, monkeys, cats, tigers, bears, deer, sheep, oxen, elephants, horses or squirrels—none, in fact, of the common Asiatic types: but instead marsupials, kangaroo and opossum."

35. "The inference," says Wallace, "we must draw from these facts is that the islands beyond Bali and Borneo do essentially form part of a former Australian or Pacific continent, although some of them never have been actually joined to it."

36. Thus it is that animals, birds and insects, by their absence or presence, by their similarity or diversity, are witnesses—and theirs is almost the only evidence—of great geological changes, and of lost

continents which have left no other trace of their existence upon the pages of history.

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37. It remains to discuss the case of the Island of Celebes which lies between Indo-Malaya and Austro-Malaya, but which belongs to neither. Wallace considers it of far greater antiquity than any of the other great islands, and on the evidence of its fauna believes that it belonged to the lost continent of the Indian Ocean, and that it was once joined to Africa. He continues:—

"Many of the species of Celebes have no allies whatever in adjacent countries, while others suggest relationship with such distant regions as New Guinea, Australia, India and Africa. Of the mammals, eleven are peculiar to Celebes. The nearest relation to the Celebes 'Tusked Pig' (*Babirusa*) is the 'Wart Hog' of Africa. Of the 24 swallow-tailed butterflies, 18 are peculiar to the island: while in Borneo close by, out of 29 species all but two occur elsewhere: and the same is the case with many other butterflies and insects. Further, the wings of Celebes butterflies are quite peculiar: in some species slim and pointed, and in others rounded and even bent—and this not in a few cases, but in most, and amongst the Papilios in 13 cases out of 14."

Lastly, there is a significant absence in Celebes of eight whole families, and sixteen genera of birds from the Asiatic side: and equally important gaps in the birds from the Australian side. All this leads to the conclusion that Celebes belongs to a period not only anterior to that at which Java, Borneo and Sumatra were separated from Asia, but to that still more remote epoch when the land which now constitutes those islands had not yet risen from the sea. And he believes the animals of Celebes to be the remnant of a Miocene fauna of a lost continent of which Celebes was a part, but which was never joined at any time to any Asiatic or Australian land.

38. It is possible that the Continent of the Indian Ocean emerged and sank at many different times and at many different places, which may account for other peculiarities in the distribution of fauna—as in the case of the orang-utan which occurs in Sumatra and Borneo, but in no other part of the Archipelago. And further, that lost continent may have a very special interest for us, for it lay in the centre of those areas now inhabited by the great anthropoids—the gorilla, chimpanzee and orang-utan. It may, in fact, have been the home of that ground-running ape which was the ancestor of *Pithecanthropus*. If so, we may infer that the Indian Ocean Continent was not too densely wooded, but that terrestrial locomotion was,

in places, more convenient than arboreal locomotion. One thing is certain, that at a very advanced stage of his development an ape-like man did reach Java: and we may note in passing the similarity that has been observed between the *Rhodesian Man* and *Pithecanthropus*. It is perhaps permissible to surmise that a land-bridge existed to a sufficiently late period to allow the remote ancestors of the Negrito races, such as the Semang and Andamanese, to reach Asia. This Negroid type is to be traced now not only in the Negritos of the Andamans, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines, but also in several races of Southern India, as well as in the natives of New Guinea, Tasmania and the Pacific. Further, Java became the home of another ancient type, represented by the fossil *Wadjak Man*. This man, though of great antiquity, was long-headed, and of the 'Modern Type.' He has much in common with the fossil *Rhodesian Man*, and he made his way, some fifty thousand years ago, to Australia, where, it is thought, he became the ancestor of the Australian aborigine.

39. It is difficult for us, at this distance, to appreciate the tragedy of the submergence of vast areas of territory with all their forests full of animal and human life. No catastrophe of which we have any experience can be likened to it. When, at the end of one of the Glacial eras, the polar caps melted and flooded the

Mediterranean area, the inflow of the sea was gradual, at least till the passage at Gibraltar was deepened. But in the case of the continents we are now discussing, subsidence may have been, and probably was, caused by volcanic or seismic activities of appalling suddenness. They were probably more disastrous than anything we can imagine, wiping out in a few hours the achievements of a million years, save on those few mountain-tops which survived as islands upon the new-formed sea. Certain it is that the tradition of some dreadful inundation is almost universal amongst the races of mankind.

CHAPTER III

THEY THAT TOIL NOT NOR SPIN

40. What has been the evolution of the Vegetable World in these great equatorial forests of Malaya?

41. We may take it that for a long period the climate has been much what it is now. There have been no Ice Ages: no violent oscillations from heat to extreme cold, and back to heat, as in those regions now called 'Temperate' which are more sensitive to the 'wobble' of the poles. This means that there have been no wholesale destructions of plants, and that, at least in lands that have not frequently submerged, vegetation has had a long period in which to develop its present characteristics.

42. To-day there are practically no seasonal changes in the Malay Peninsula. Throughout the year, one day is very much like another. The temperature varies only from about 68° to 90°. In these equatorial regions the sun sets and rises always in much the same place, and the difference between the longest and shortest days is only 36½ minutes in Penang and 9 minutes in Singapore. With a little practice one can learn to tell the time with fair accuracy from the position of the sun, or from the length of one's shadow, which (for a man 6 feet high) is four paces at 8 a.m., and practically nothing at noon.

43. Except on the east coast, there are no monsoons, but an almost daily rainfall: and though there are recognized wet and dry periods, these are not at all regular, nor do they always occur in the same months. The annual rainfall varies from 90 to 130 inches. With these limitations, May to September may be considered the dry season in the Malay Peninsula, with heavier rain from October to April. In Sumatra, Java and Borneo the dry seasons are from May to September, and the wet respectively from November to March, December to March and October to April.

44. Generally speaking, the climate of the Peninsula is warm, but not uncomfortable, being tempered by frequent showers and constant breezes. With modern sanitation, health may be kept; though by Europeans a certain slackness is felt, and after an illness it is difficult to recuperate without going up into the neighbouring hills. But, taking the East as a whole, it is a fact that the nearer you live to the equator the less heat and discomfort there is. In this radiant land there are no flies, no dust, no crows, no income tax and—as cynics maintain—no Government of India. There are no dust-storms, no hot weathers, and the landscape displays a fresh and luxuriant greenery. The mornings are always brilliant, with dew on the grass, deep shadows in the trees, and radiant sunshine in which the new day sparkles.

Storms and heavy showers follow at noon or in the afternoon according to locality: and in some places sudden and startling claps of thunder are a marked feature. Normally, the thunder rumbles down the sky in long salvoes, but sometimes, from almost cloudless heavens, there is a sharp crack like the simultaneous discharge of a battery. Of course, the lightning is dangerous, and there are casualties. From the experience of a friend of mine at Kampar, who had a coolie killed beside him, it seems that on such occasions neither is the clap heard nor the flash seen. Simply, there is a terrific shock that appears to come upwards out of the ground.

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45. As we have seen, there is reason to believe that this sort of climate has continued for hundreds of thousands of years. In support of this supposition, the coal measures of Labuan show that the vegetation has maintained its general character for a vast period. Not that the Labuan formations are of any great geological antiquity: still they prove that the forests of their era resembled those still standing. We are thus able in imagination to clothe the lands we have already created, and to stock them at a remote age with modified forms of the flora of to-day. Mr. Motley in a report on the geology of Labuan, says:—

"The coal is clearly the product, not of peat de-

rived from the decay of small vegetation, but of large timber. At least one-half of the mass displays the grain and structure of the wood—and all specimens examined have exactly the character of the dipteraceous trees now forming the bulk of the timber growing above them. The trees must have been of vast dimensions. One trunk was traced for upwards of 60 feet, and for the whole of that distance was not less than 8 feet wide. Specimens were procured of nine species of dicotyledons, of which two so closely resemble an existing Barringtonia and a dipteraceous plant called ' druing,' that it is difficult to believe they are not identical. Besides these, there are ferns and palms closely resembling existing species."

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46. With a warm, equable climate, and constant heavy rain, it naturally follows that the Malay Peninsula is clothed with evergreen forests from the seashore to the mountain-tops.

47. These forests have different characters according to their situation. First there are the Casuarina groves of the sand-beaches: those graceful tamarisk-like trees which, by the way, are supposed to attract lightning, and are therefore never used for house building.

48. Then there are the stinking nipah and man-

(*Major Pearse*)

THE CHINA SEA

Where the coasts are clean and unencumbered with Mangrove, the sands are fringed with Casuarina trees. The Bay here shown is that of Baserah in Pahang.

grove forests of the coastal swamps, where the tides ebb and flow amongst the stilt-like roots on which the mangrove trees are raised out of the bog. These jungles are entirely unapproachable except by boat at high water; and the wreathing roots are the resort of snakes, shell-fish and several kinds of land-fish. Nothing could be more depressing, more smelly and revolting, than the mangrove: yet these inhospitable trees greatly expedite the growth of new land, ever pushing out across shoals and mud-banks where in a few years they give place first to cocoanut gardens, and then to rice fields. And, besides this, mangrove furnishes the growing population with firewood, with products for tanning, and with an annual revenue of over $220,000. The trees propagate in rather a curious way by means of a sort of bean which is not, however, a seed, but a fully germinate plant that in time falls, sticks into the wet mud, and grows.

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49. We have next to consider the 'Secondary Jungles' that grow up where the primeval forests have been removed for cultivation and then perhaps abandoned. The trees here are not so tall as in primeval growths, and the *marked characteristic of the vegetation is that it belongs to types that have a very wide range*. It is not, in fact, strictly indigenous, and

has therefore a different aspect from the vegetation of the virgin forests where nothing that is not indigenous can grow.

50. In temperate regions the destruction of virgin forest does not produce any great change in the flora, but in the tropics it is otherwise. Thousands of indigenous species cannot grow without the giant trees. Foreign species of strong growth find an opening and replace them. Thus, while the herbaceous plants of the deep forest are local and tropical, those of Secondary Jungle are cosmopolitan forms found widely scattered over Southern Asia. Such are the banana, mangosteen, durian,[1] rambutan,[2] jack-fruit and papaya, whose distribution in open lands is encouraged by man. Such are the golden bamboo, the traveller's tree, the hibiscus and the scarlet-stemmed palm (*Pinang Raja*).[3] Such also are mint and cosmos, and those disastrous weeds the spear grass and the sensitive plant that have invaded every spare inch of Burma and Malaya, and the bracken-like fern, *Pleris arachnoidae*, which forms almost impenetrable growths. In the case of the sensitive plant, the nerve is at the base of the leaf-stem, and contraction of that surface

[1] The word *Durian* is derived from the Malay *duri*, 'a thorn,' i.e. 'Thorny fruit.'

[2] The word *Rambutan* is derived from the Malay *rambut*, 'hairy,' i.e. 'Hairy fruit.'

[3] *Cyrtostachys lakka.*

(*Capt. W. E. Rivers*)

MANGROVE

Where the coasts are low, the Mangrove trees push out across the mud to form fresh country, their trunks being raised above the bog on wreathing, stilt-like roots.

causes the leaf to droop when touched. Another cosmopolitan plant is a bushy azalea, with a coarse, purple flower. Amongst weeds that have established themselves in Singapore, as well as in Java, are *Clitoria cajanifolia* and *Cleome aculeata*—both from South America. Much of the flora of Penang, which we now take for granted, was, in fact, introduced by the East India Company. In a paper[1] written in 1803, Sir William Hunter records the first fruiting of nutmeg and mangosteen in the Botanical Gardens established at Ayer Itam in 1786.[2] The East India Company, anxious to break the Dutch monopoly, imported spice trees from the Moluccas in 1796, and many useful and ornamental plants from Amboyna. The name 'Penang,' or *Pulau Pinang*, means 'Betel-nut Island.' Betel-nut is offered with a proposal for marriage, and the island may possibly derive its name from having at one time formed part of the dowry of some Kedah princess.

51. Mr. Ridley, who has made a careful study of these matters, points out that the local flora is largely trees and shrubs: herbaceous plants being comparatively scarce except in open country where they have

[1] Ridley, *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society (Straits Branch)*, Vol. 53 (1909), page 50.

[2] The gardens founded by Government in 1822, also at Ayer Itam, were probably on the same site as that occupied by the present garden.

introduced themselves or been cultivated.[1] Amongst recent introductions must be noticed the rubber tree, *Hevea braziliensis*, which in forty years has been spread over a million acres, and whose ordered rows, like army corps on parade, extend for hundreds of miles from Penang to Malacca.

52. Where the ground has been impoverished, either by the removal of humus or by the cultivation of exhausting crops like tapioca, it is quickly invaded by the fatal 'Lalang Grass,' which effectually prevents afforestation. Lalang gives the country a pleasant park-like appearance, but this is usually deceptive, as the grass is high, rank and almost impenetrable till burnt, as it often is, for grazing. Then, indeed, the grass-lands, as at Kroh in Upper Perak, are delightful for a season. Such lalang fires rage along the edge of the surrounding forests, but seldom pass through them as in the drier jungles of Burma where the undergrowth is thus cleared without any serious damage being done to the big trees.

53. One would expect more Burmese types to occur in Malaya, considering the land connection. The two countries, however, differ essentially in this, that Burma is a monsoon area with dry seasons of rest, while Malaya is always wet. Still, in spite of this,

[1] Ridley, 'Flora of Singapore,' *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society (Straits Branch)*, Vol. 33 (1900).

Burmese species are introducing themselves, as in the case of a handsome poisonous weed with thin, twisted, scarlet and yellow petals like corkscrews, which in Burmese is called Să-mi-daw[1]: and a common Burmese ground-orchid, *Arundina bamboosifolia*, now common in Perak and Batang Padang, where it is known as the 'Tapah Weed.' It will be interesting to see if the beautiful Taunggyi Lily, planted at Maxwell's Hill and Fraser's Hill in 1924, will establish itself. But enough has been said to indicate the cosmopolitan nature of the flora of Secondary Jungle and open spaces, when the primeval forests have been removed.

54. Lastly, there is the stunted type of jungle that covers the limestone hills, as near Ipoh.

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55. Such are the various kinds of forests that stand outside the lofty Primeval Jungle by which by far the greater part of the country is still buried. In Burma it takes at least two or three days from any big town to reach the heart of the forest; but in this progressive Malayan land it can be approached easily by car at many places.

56. Of all jungle, the Primeval Forest is the most imposing—silent, stately, dense, rain-drenched and laced about with gigantic creepers. So it stands

[1] *Gloriosa superba.*

proudly above a crowded undergrowth. The impenetrable depths, the sombre shadows, where suffocating vegetation is struggling to find a place in the sunshine, where trees in their upward strife tread each other underfoot, where ground plants have taken permanently to arboreal life, where certain plants germinate in the earth and then ascend steadily to the tree-tops, where even palms and bamboo have taken to climbing that they may thrust their leaves above the forest's dome—in all this, how much there is of romance, and of tragedy!

57. And how much to stimulate the imagination! What astonishing adaptations there are to circumstances in the plants, in the teeming insect life, and even amongst the larger animals! Here, not only have ground plants betaken themselves to the tree-tops, but terrestrial animals—snakes, snails and crabs —have done the same. The reason why so few snakes are seen is that most of them are up the trees in that upper world of the forest dome where they have followed the birds and squirrels, and where they have been followed by the snake-eating hamadryads. Quite a number of terrestrial and arboreal animals have here taken to flight, as in the case of the flying foxes, fruit-bats, flying squirrels and lemurs, flying frogs and flying lizards.[1] There is at least one flying snake

[1] *Draco fimbricatsu.* This flying lizard occurs also in Burma.

(*Major Pearse*)

PRIMEVAL FOREST

The greater part of the Malay Peninsula remains buried in dense virgin jungle, where the trees are either laden with parasitic growths, or rise branchless for 60 or 80 feet. The road here shown is that which crosses Pahang to Kuantan.

(*Chrysopelea ornata*), and in Borneo there are three. These snakes, by drawing in the belly till they are concave in shape, are able to ' parachute ' through the air for a considerable distance. Still more wonderful is the perfect mimicry of some of the butterflies and spiders, and of the leaf and stick insects. We have here, especially in the leaf insect, a perfect demonstration of adaptability to environment: and, as we shall see later, there was certainly a plastic age in the world's history when living things, not yet slaves of an ancient heredity, were capable of accommodating themselves easily and rapidly to their surroundings.

58. The characteristic feature of Primeval Jungle is the tallness of the trees and the absence of branches to a great height. The trees have height, clean boles, huge crowns of foliage and massive buttresses radiating like walls from their base. The weight of the trunk and crown is partly supported by these buttresses in a crowded ground where lateral growth of roots is restricted by rivals. In Dipterocarpae the trunk is often unbranched for 80 feet, and Chengal in Upper Perak have a girth of 29 feet at the base.

59. In Europe, some one species often dominates a locality; but in the tropics there is always a great variety of trees in every part. The species are mixed and dispersed, so that numbers of one kind alone do not occur together. This characteristic of the tropical

jungle can be seen by looking up to a mountain-side from some open plain like that of Taiping. The forest's dome is then seen to be varied with many types of foliage, and many colours from green to red. With regard to this great variety, Ridley says[1] that while Singapore Island, with an area of 200 square miles, has 1900 species of flowering plants, the whole British Isles, with an area of 121,000 square miles, has only 1200 species. With 130 species of ferns, Singapore Island has nearly twice the number in the whole of Europe.

60. The great trees have usually small leaves; and of many the flowers are green and insignificant, and are, moreover, invisible high up in the lofty foliage. Some, of course, have conspicuous flowers, and some have eccentric growths of fruit and flowers on the trunks: but, generally speaking, the display of bloom is altogether disappointing. Gay masses of colour are rarely seen, and even the orchids are less numerous than in Burma. And there is nothing to compare with the carpet of flowers, or the masses of tree-blossoms, that occur in Alpine and temperate regions. There is merely a splendid, unbroken wall of greenery, relieved only at rare intervals by the bloom of an orchid, a ginger, or a tree.

[1] Ridley, *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* (*Straits Branch*), Vol. 33 (1900).

61. Ridley has also made some interesting observations regarding the colour of tropical flowers. Those that depend for fertilization on flies are usually small, and green or white, and this is probably the reason why more colour is not displayed. White flowers with large panicles and corymbs attract butterflies and bees: and pink flowers, which are not numerous, appeal to bees. Scarlet flowers are visited by butterflies and sun-birds. The orange flower of *Mussaenda frondosa* has certainly a special attraction for some of the great Papilios, including *Nox*, *Neptunis* and *Doubledayi*. Bright yellow flowers are chiefly met in open country: and blue is the rarest colour of all.

62. It is probable that, in spite of their size, few of the trees are of any great age as compared with the oaks, etc., of Europe. Here, there is no variation of climate, no season of rest, and timber grows continuously with less pronounced 'rings' than those that mark seasonal growths in temperate climates. From the number of fallen trees, and from the fact that other quite large ones sometimes grow astride them, one may judge the ease and speed with which they are replaced.

63. With regard to seasonal changes, Ridley says:—

"Certain plants shed their leaves regularly, remain bare for one or two days, and then throw out shoots, and in a short time are quite leafy again. This change usually takes place three or four times a year, and

every tree of the kind in the district undergoes it on the same day. It is not till we get north of Penang that we find a definite period of rest (i.e. a dry season) in which all or most plants shed their leaves together and remain quite bare. . . . Few plants in Malaya have a definite flowering month; many flower more or less steadily throughout the year. Others flower at regular periods three or four times a year."

64. Others, however, flower at quite irregular intervals, and, as in the matter of shedding leaves mentioned by Ridley, they all flower simultaneously in any given locality. This seems to suggest that flowering does not depend on climate in their case, but on temperature or barometric pressure. These phenomena may be conveniently observed in open country trees like the Rain Tree,[1] the *Jacaranda mimosae*, that scatters a purple carpet of bloom on the ground, and the Angsana,[2] which after an interval of months will have a rapid succession of two or three separate flowerings in a fortnight, shedding a golden rain of petals on the streets of many a Malayan town. All these kinds bloom together on about the same day: but an even better example is the Pigeon Orchid,[3] whose white flowers appear like snow on the tree

[1] *Pitheco Lobium*, the 'Coco Bin' of Burma.
[2] *Pterocarpus Indicus*, the 'Padauk' of Burma.
[3] *Dendrobium crumenatum.*

branches eight or nine times a year. The longest period between flowerings seems to be about sixty days, and the shortest eleven. Being sweet-scented, it attracts many insects, so that a short period of bloom suffices to fertilize it: but in the case of many forest orchids, in spite of bright colours and strong scent, they have much difficulty in attracting visitors, and have therefore longer periods of bloom. Some trees flower every fifth year. Of these are the Dipterocarpae. They also all flower simultaneously, which is indeed very necessary for their fertilization.

The fertilization of orchids is something of a mystery. These plants are classified not by their characteristic stems, as one might expect, but by their pollen clusters, which are sometimes single, sometimes joined to each other by a stalk, and sometimes provided with a foot. They are, however, always unattached to the flower, being held in position merely by a cap. This cap is raised by the visiting insect on whose head the pollen cluster is carried to the next bloom, where it adheres to a sticky substance on the anther. But as the pollen is not a dust, but a thing of some size, it is not clear how the transfer is effected, especially in the case of some of the *Dendrobs*. The seed when it matures resembles chalk, and so small is it that the seed-pod of a *Vanda coeruleum* will contain a million seeds, which are scattered easily

enough: but it is now known that the presence of a certain microscopic fungus is necessary before they will germinate. A chemical substitute has, however, been discovered, so that orchids are no longer exported from tropical countries, but can be cultivated in flasks in Europe.

65. In the primeval forests of the Malay Peninsula the undergrowth is usually so thick, packed and thorny that it is quite impenetrable. In these shaded depths beneath the upper forest's dome, the vegetation is inclined to develop very large leaves which are no doubt designed to make the best possible use of the limited light and air. Here grow the giant palms—often with prickly stems. Some of the growths on this floor of the forest are, of course, the young of the tall trees above: but the greater number are of smaller types—palms, bamboos and tree-ferns which never grow to a great height. Nevertheless, the palms are comparatively of enormous size, with graceful leaves 10 and 12 feet long. In contrast with such is *Iguanura palmuncula*, probably the smallest known palm, with dainty leaves hardly a span in length.

66. Certainly the most striking features of these forests are the coils of woody creepers that wind about the trees, hang in loops from the high branches, and bind the jungle together with an inextricable tangle of ropes. These lianas do not belong to any one

(*F. W. Major*)

FOREST

A great variety of vegetation is the characteristic of Virgin Jungle. Trees of any one kind are much scattered about, and do not occur in masses. The undergrowth is practically impenetrable.

family. There is no group of plants whose special quality is to climb: but the habit has been evolved by many diverse families, even by palms and bamboos! This tendency to climb has been cultivated on account of the ever pressing need of certain plants to reach the upper air and light. The climbing bamboo (*Bambusa solida*) is one of the most curious, being quite thin, but of immense length, and with stiff down-turned branches which act as hooks. That fascinating botanist, Beccari,[1] points out how strong must have been the urge that transformed a slender shrub into a liana: or a thin, straight palm into a climbing 'rotan.' And his is the suggestive theory that their ability to do so must have developed in a long-ago age when the world was young and pliable, and when living things, as yet unfettered by millennia of habit, were able easily to adapt themselves to their environments. But the habits of plants and animals in our age are fixed by an overwhelming force of heredity, and no species at this stage can appreciably evolve any new organic contrivance.

67. Many creepers in their youth adhere to tree trunks by their leaves, which lie absolutely flat along the wood. Such forms are often seen on the lower part of tree trunks. But later in life, when the climber has effected its purpose the leaves change their shape and

[1] Beccari, *Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo*, page 391.

detach themselves from the supporting trunk. True lianas, says Beccari, are plants with rope-like stems, which, rooted in the ground, manage to raise themselves by means of their neighbours, and sometimes ultimately overtop the biggest trees with their fronds.

68. But there are also hanging growths that are not lianas. These are not real climbers, but *Aroideae*, or Epiphytous plants, which live on the branches of high trees, often trailing long roots below them. These air roots hang straight down, and may even reach the ground and strike there. Epiphytes are the true parasites, and their number is almost beyond computation. They, too, crave for light and air: or perhaps the soil which was anciently their home was too damp for them: so in a remote age they adopted an arboreal mode of life—these aroids, fungi, mosses, orchids and a host of ferns, including such large ones as the 'Elephant Tongue Fern' and the 'Elk-horn Fern,'[1] whose pendulous fronds hang down like some kind of branching seaweed.

69. In the lofty situations they have adopted all these plants are subject to drought, and so have evolved every possible means of storing moisture and reducing evaporation by tubers, thickened stems and fleshy leaves; while their air roots are specially adapted for taking up moisture from the atmosphere. For

[1] *Platycerium grande.*

VEGETABLE PARASITES

The number of *Epiphytes*, or vegetable parasites, is almost countless. Here are shown trees beside a Taiping road, laden with *Elephant Tongue Fern* and *Pigeon Orchid*.

nourishment, they depend on the humus of the bark of the trees to which they adhere, as well as to particles of débris carried up by insects. Many Epiphytes, notably orchids and rhododendron, produce large and beautiful flowers.

70. The forest dome is largely composed of the foliage of various kinds of *ficus*, of which some are the most shameless parasites. The family, however, has varied habits. Some grow as ordinary trees: others climb rocks, raise themselves by means of flat, clasping leaves, and often turn into lofty trees. Others, again, are Epiphytes of giant size and remorseless habits—deadly parasites that drop roots to the ground, and eventually strangle their hosts. Their manœuvres are very well seen in Burma, where they frequently start life on a tall toddy palm: which they ultimately envelop so completely that, in the last stage, nothing whatever is visible of that palm but its head of leaves amongst the foliage of the fig.

. . . . . .

71. There remains to consider the mountain-tops which, at about 3500 feet, begin to offer other interests. On Kedah Peak, which is near the sea, and where there is little soil, the change from tropical to sub-temperate flora seems to begin a little lower (3000 feet), and there is also an unusual profusion of flowers

—scarlet slippers, rhododendron, ground orchids of great beauty, and pitcher plants of several varieties.

72. Beccari has pointed out that "nearly always on the summits of mountains in Borneo, Malaya and New Guinea, species occur that belong to genera of plants existent in very distant regions, as if such spots were the last refuge of the remains of an extinct flora—a remnant perhaps of an older world, or of former continents, now broken up and in great part destroyed."

Such refuges are Gunong Bubu, Gunong Tahan, Gunong Kerbau, Kedah Peak, Penang Peak and Mt. Ophir. As the open plains have a cosmopolitan flora of modern forms with a wide range, so the mountain-tops have plants of a wide range, but they are perhaps ancient forms, and are found nowhere else but on those isolated peaks. Such are some of the mosses, and the strange *Nepenthes*, or 'Pitcher Plants.' 'Pitcher Plants' are usually green and mauve; and with their lids, ribs, rims, sugar-glands and pitchers full of drowned flies and ants, are amongst the most curious of all plants. They attain a full length of 7 inches in Malaya almost anywhere above 4000 feet; but none rival the famous *Nepenthes Raja* or *Nepenthes Lowi* of Mt. Kinabalu in Borneo, which are a foot long and hold seven pints of water. Beccari[1] says of these plants:—

[1] Beccari, *Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo*, page 407.

"It cannot be doubted that insects are attracted to the pitchers by such artifices and inducements as the shape of the pitchers, their bright colours, and the glands that disseminate sweetmeats to tempt and lure victims to perdition. But where Nature has shown all her refinement of perfidy is in the disposal of these baits within and around the rim of the pitcher, where an insect is almost certain to lose its balance and fall into the well. Once there it cannot escape, and is drowned in the liquid accumulated therein, which has been secreted by the plant even before the opening of the lid. . . . Formerly it was thought that the liquid containing the putrefying insects furnished the plant with nitrogenous nourishment: but it has now been proved that *Nepenthes* secrete a digestive fluid and so assimilate matter from the bodies of captives. *Nepenthes* may therefore be placed amongst those plants which have been aptly termed 'carnivorous.'"

73. Such is the history of the forest: and truly the evolution of vegetable life is no less astonishing than that of the animals. Its improvisations—how clever they are, how subtle, how varied, how successful! And through the ages they have been directed towards something definite, something specialized, that species may survive that tense struggle in which the efficient win, and the unsuccessful fall out of the race and are lost.

CHAPTER IV

FAUNA OF THE PENINSULA

74. If the flora of the Malay Archipelago is suggestive, so also is the fauna—that teeming insect and animal life of which we see so little, know so little and heed so little. The story of the insects is particularly interesting because Nature has developed in them many unusual forms, and because the process of adaptation is clearly indicated by those forms. Moreover, insect life, though usually ignored, is of greater importance to Man—usually to his detriment—than are the larger animals. Here and there he succumbs to the malice or necessity of snakes or tigers: but all the time he and his belongings are beset by constant peril from insects and germs. It is only in our own times that the full measure of the danger has been realized, and Science called to assist; and that the bite of an Anopheles mosquito is regarded as a real misfortune. We have now learned that, in Malaya at any rate, these destroyers of health cannot breed in shaded water in the hills, or in sunlit water on the plains; and on this small discovery the energy and happiness of the inhabitants of the Peninsula depend in no small degree. They say that Rome and Greece succumbed to the mosquito.

75. Of all creatures, insects, by reason of their small size and of their strange organs, remain the least

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accessible to our understanding. It is difficult to sympathize with things that hear with their legs (as do crickets), or breathe through their sides (as do caterpillars). In many ways insects seem mechanical. Many appear to have no individuality: yet some, like ants and bees, might claim to be the most highly organized of all creatures under Man. How much there is of intelligence and how much of blind instinct is, so far, a matter of speculation only: but insects have certainly adapted themselves marvellously to conditions. Man's genius is in the opposite direction, namely, to harness Nature for his own purpose. And these two orders dominate the world, Man being the highest expression of Free Will; while some insects, at any rate, are the last word in specialized, mechanical efficiency.

76. The Lepidoptera (Moths and Butterflies) are of special importance because of their beauty and diversity, and also because upon their wings is painted most clearly the story of their evolution. Bates, in his *Naturalist on the Amazon*, explains this as follows:—

"Butterflies are better adapted than almost any other group of animals or plants to furnish facts in illustration of the modification which all species undergo in Nature, under changed local conditions. This accidental superiority is due partly to the sim-

plicity and distinctness of the insects, and partly to the facility with which series of specimens are collected and placed side by side for comparison. The distinctness of the specific characters is due probably to the fact that all superficial signs of change in organization are exaggerated, and made unusually plain by effecting the frame-work, shape, and colour of the wings, which, as many anatomists believe, are magnified extensions of the skin around the breathing orifices of the thorax. These expansions are clothed with minute feathers and scales, coloured in regular patterns, which vary in accordance with the slightest change in the conditions to which the species are exposed. It may be said, therefore, that on these extended membranes Nature writes, as on a tablet, the story of the modification of species, so truly do all changes of organization register themselves thereon. Moreover, the same colour-patterns of the wings generally show, with great regularity, the degree of blood-relationship of the species. As the laws of Nature are the same for all beings, the conclusions furnished by this group of insects must be applicable to the whole organic world. Therefore, the study of Butterflies—creatures selected as the type of airiness and frivolity—instead of being despised, should be valued as one of the most important branches of Biological science."

77. One might add that the importance of butterflies to science is enhanced by the rapidity with which they pass from egg to caterpillar, chrysalis and imago (perfect butterfly). Further, they display several different kinds of variation. In some there are Sexual Variations, females being larger than males, and with more rounded wings. Geographical Variations are best studied in islands and archipelagoes, and in areas similarly isolated. Then there are Climatic Variations and Seasonal Variations—in the latter, broods of some species being entirely different at one season from what they are at another. Type Variations, where one male has three or four separate and distinct forms of female, will be discussed later; as also variations due to mimicry. Lastly, there is Individual Variation in each single butterfly, which exists even if it is imperceptible, and from which arises all this wonderful diversity of life. In some cases, like *Junonia*, there is little difference between one individual and another; while in others nearly every specimen varies, as in the leaf-like under-surfaces of *Kalima* and *Melanitis*.

78. Butterflies, particularly in their helpless stages, are tragically open to the attacks of enemies. The eggs are eaten by birds and beetles, and are even parasitized by flies. In the larval stage they are also eaten by birds and are the favourite prey of Ichneu-

mons that deposit eggs in them, or carry them off bodily for incarceration in their mud forts. In either case, the young parasite when mature feeds on the embryo butterfly—and first on non-vital spots so as to keep its unhappy victim alive and fresh as long as possible. The perfect butterfly that escapes all these dangers is hunted by birds, bats and dragon-flies. The twin gaps often found in the two hind-wings bespeak the unsuccessful snap of a lizard. Under these circumstances several of the weak, the conspicuous, and the tasty, owe their survival to an unconscious cultivation of protective mimicry, or protective colouring. That is to say, insects with any natural resemblance to a non-hunted model tend to profit by it and survive, and so, by the continuous breeding of survivors, to accentuate the resemblance till it becomes strong: while those which do not tend to conform are destroyed. Thus, in thousands of years, has evolved that resemblance of insects to wood, leaves, flowers, twigs, or bird-lime, or to other insects that are nasty to eat, and therefore not hunted. Thus, too, has arisen the mimicry of plants, and the wonderful protective thorns and spines of many jungle forms. In the youth of these families they were seriously threatened by the attacks of animals or insects, and the tendency was to replace nipped buds and branches by other growths, of which thorns were the most

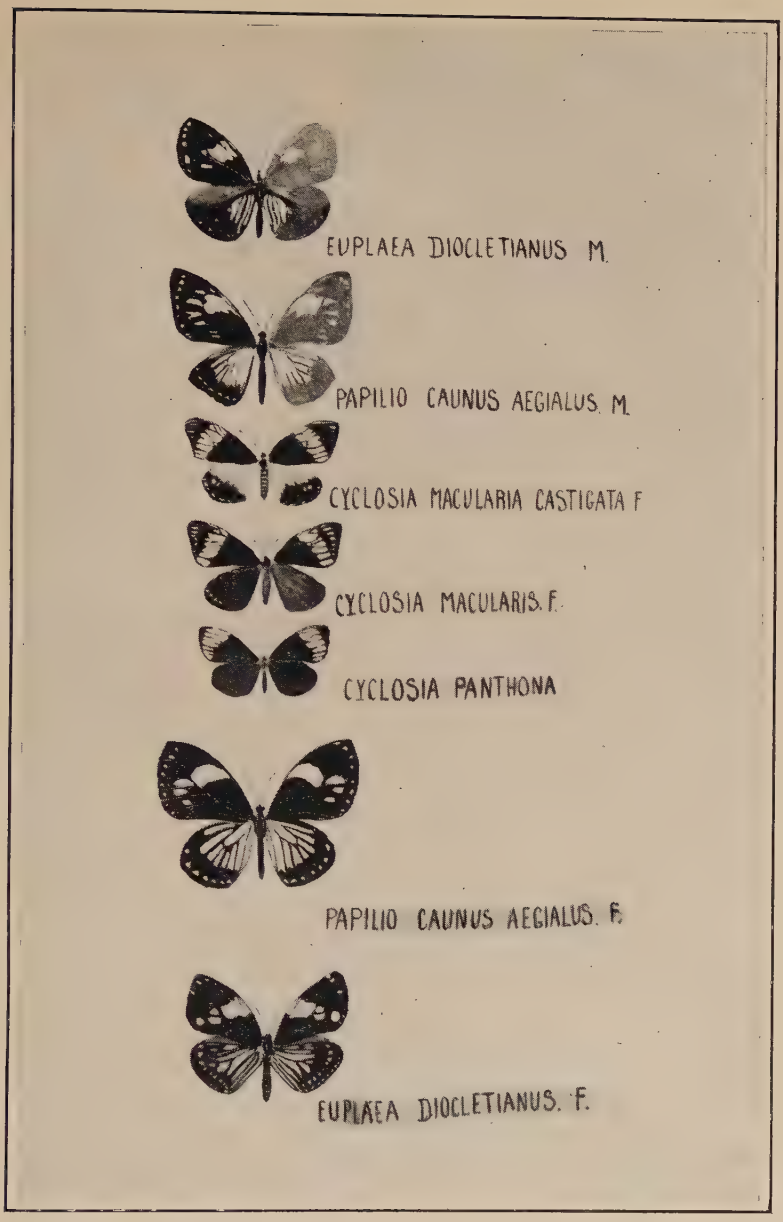
effective. And all this marvellous perfection in mimicry and protection that we now behold is the finished process. If it continues at all, it is only with incredible slowness, for there has ceased to be any further appreciable modification.

79. Upon this point, to which we have already referred briefly, the Italian naturalist, Beccari, throws a good deal of light.[1] Indeed, the supposition of a 'plastic age,' now closed, may be called the 'Beccari Theory,' and it is very important. He shows that the older a family gets, the stronger is the force of heredity behind it. It is so strong in our day that no individual passes on to his children any special bodily traits he may have developed in himself. Modification of species is now practically impossible, except by artificial crossing, which has no appreciable place in Nature. But in early geological times there was no such strong bondage of heredity. They were plastic times, and species could, and did, adapt themselves easily and quickly to their surroundings in accordance not only with their needs, but perhaps also with their desires. Beccari disagreed at various points with Darwin, but there seems to be no reason why this suggestive theory of an early plasticity should not square with Darwin's doctrine of selection and inherent variation. It explains not only the resemblance

[1] Beccari, *Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo*, page 214.

of some animals to their environments, but also the startling conspicuousness of others in their present surroundings, as in the case of the highly coloured snake *Doliophis bivirgatus*, the bright-plumed Pittas and the shining Morphinae butterflies, which are all creatures of the deep forest.

80. That the mimicry of butterflies is not purely accidental seems evident from the fact that in various species of *Elymnias* the females all mimic such a widely different type as females of *Daniadae*, so that they have assumed an appearance entirely different from that of their respective males: while in the case of a Papilio like *Caunus aegialus* we have the male and the female respectively mimicking the male and the female of *Euplaea diocletianus*, which belongs to a wholly different family — Pieridae. Further, the mimics, generally speaking, copy common and slow, but musky-tasting models like Euplaea and Daniadae, which are also remarkable for their unusual vitality: and the way that mimics are found all over the country associating with their models (with whom they have no relationship whatever) cannot be mere coincidence. In such cases the strong, numerous and clearly marked butterflies, which in the case of Euplaea and Daniadae exude an unpleasant scent from glands, patches and hairs at moments of fear and excitement, are held to be the ' models ': while the weak, scarce and hard-



'MIMICS' AND 'MODELS'

The accidental similarity of certain weak butterflies and moths to nasty tasting ones, has led to their preservation—all individuals not cultivating the resemblance tending to be killed off. At the two ends of the row are the 'Models,' of which the rest are 'Mimics.'

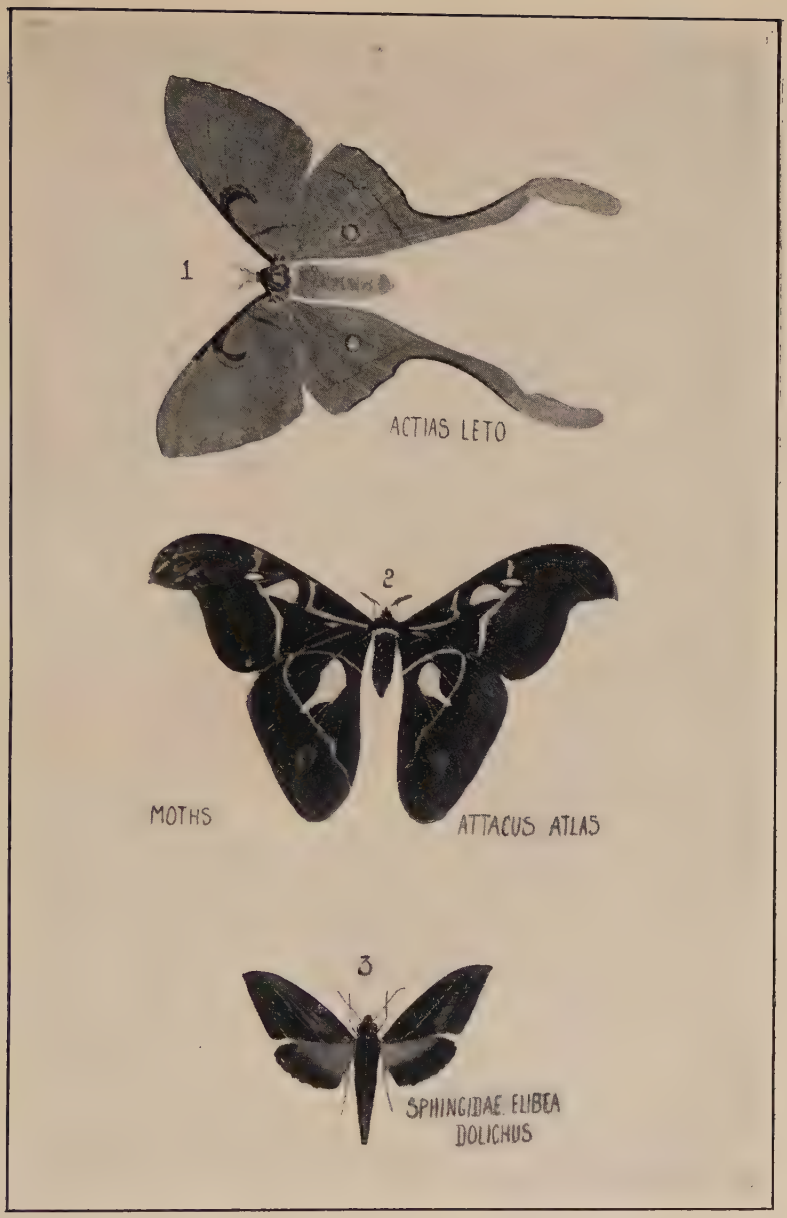
pressed ones, which have vaguer markings, are considered to be ' mimics.' A list of Malayan ' models ' and ' mimics,' which is no doubt incomplete, is given in Appendix II for the benefit of those interested in the subject.

81. The females of some butterflies (like *Ornithoptera ruficollis*) are much larger than the males; while in others (such as the fine Papilios *Nox*, *Neptunis*, *Doubledayi* and *Aristolochae*) the fore-wings of the females are rounder and broader. The males, however, are nearly always more ornate. Females usually have a slower flight, and are sometimes very rare, even in the case of some of the very commonest butterflies like *Euplaea diocletianus* and *Appias nero*. The females of *Hypolymnas bolina*, *Elymnias*, *fraterna* and *penanga*, *Pareronia hippa* and *Papilio delesserti* are all rare, and it is just in these very cases, which need protection so badly, that the females are mimics which have altogether ceased to resemble their males. The rarity of the female of *Ornithoptera brookiana* is proverbial. About one is seen to every thousand males. She usually resorts to the highest tree-tops, rarely descending, and the only way to procure specimens is by shooting them down.

82. Two Papilios—*Polytes* and *Memnon Agenor*—have the distinction of possessing several forms of female. Their case is altogether curious, for the

various females are hatched out indiscriminately from the same brood of eggs. That is to say, a female gives birth not only to her own species, but to others of completely different appearance. *P. Polytes* has three females of which one is a mimic (of *P. Aristolochae*). *Memnon Agenor* (which has no tails) has no less than five distinct females, of which two (*Esperi* and *Butlerianus*) also are tail-less, and three (*Distantianus*, *Phoenix* and *Vinius*) have long swallow-tails.

83. The females of a few moths (certain Geometridae and Psychidae which I have never seen) are said to be entirely wingless. On the other hand, the female of *Attacus atlas* has enormous wings, but an exceedingly weak flight. They are, however, often vibrated while the moth is at rest, and it is thought that she sends S.O.S. messages which the male receives through his feathery antennæ. It is, at any rate, a fact that the female has some means of attracting a male from a distance. This beautiful moth has the warm maroon colour of a Persian carpet. In the Malay Peninsula it is commonly 8 inches across, though in India it is said to attain 13 inches. Like the Goat, Leopard and Garden Tiger Moths, it has no mouth, and so cannot feed in its mature stage, and it dies in about a week. Closely related to the Atlas is another giant silk-spinner—*Actias leto*, which, at least in North Perak, has a spread of 6 inches: but its enor-



THE GREAT MOTHS

Actias Leto (coloured sea-green) is 8½ inches long. *Attacus Atlas* (maroon-red) is 8 inches across, and in India attains 13 inches. The *Sphingidae* are beautiful moths of shapely and speedy 'cut.'

mous tails give it a length of 8½ inches. The colour is sea-green. Further down the Peninsula a much smaller species seems to occur, and there are also small kinds of the Atlas.

84. Enough has been said to indicate the diversity of Malayan *Lepidoptera*. But, apart from their scientific value, these moths and butterflies are a delight in themselves. It is impossible to describe their abundance, the beauty of their colouring in this sunny land, or the quaintness of shape of such butterflies as the *Leptocircus*. Their speed, their grace, their flashing wings, lend enchantment to the country-side. True aristocrats are the Malayan Papilionidae with their large, brainy heads, their ornate bodies and their fastidious habit of settling with half-open wings—so different from the vulgar, rubber-bodied Danainae, who plump themselves down with closed wings. And the Ornithoptera, the great 'Bird-Wings,' those princes among Papilios—*Ruficollis*, black and gold: *Brookiana*, one of the handsomest butterflies in the world, gleaming with scarlet and blue reflections, his splays of shining green diamonds flashing on his black wings. What memories he recalls of hunting days up the Ulu Gombak and Ulu Kinta pipe-lines, on the uplands of Fraser's Hill, in the silent forest clearings of Jor, at the falling waters of Chanderiang and at the one or two other places to which the range of

Ornithoptera brookiana is restricted. This king of Malayan butterflies is 7¼ inches across, but only 2 inches in depth.

85. At the other end, in point of size, are two Leptocircus—*curius* and *meges*—jewels of forest pools and streams. They are black, with long tails (the hind-wing is all tail), giving this quaint butterfly a total length of 2¼ inches. Half the fore-wing is transparent and is crossed in *curius* with a band of white, and in *meges* with a band of pale blue. I have seen *curius* also in the Mekong Valley on the Burmese-Siamese frontier, and in British North Borneo, where it occurs in clouds of 50 to 100 together.

86. Between the Ornithoptera and the Leptocircus come the other Papilios, all splendid fellows—*Neptunis* and *Doubledayi*, with their frail and dainty tails: *Nox* of the forest glades: *Palinurus* gleaming now peacock-blue, now frosted green: those uncommon butterflies *Clytia*, *Delesserti* and *Macareus*: *Antiphates* with pointed streamers: *Polytes* and *Memnon Agenor* with their train of gorgeous wives: the speedy blues and greens with classic names—*Jason*, *Arycles*, *Bathycles*, *Agamemnon* and *Sarpedon* (the last the fastest butterfly in the world): the mimics *Paradoxus*, blue *Paradoxa* and *Caunus aegialus*: even the common ones—*Aristolochae*, *Damolion*, *Demoleus*, *Nephelus*, *Iswara*—how hard it is to dismiss in a single paragraph these good

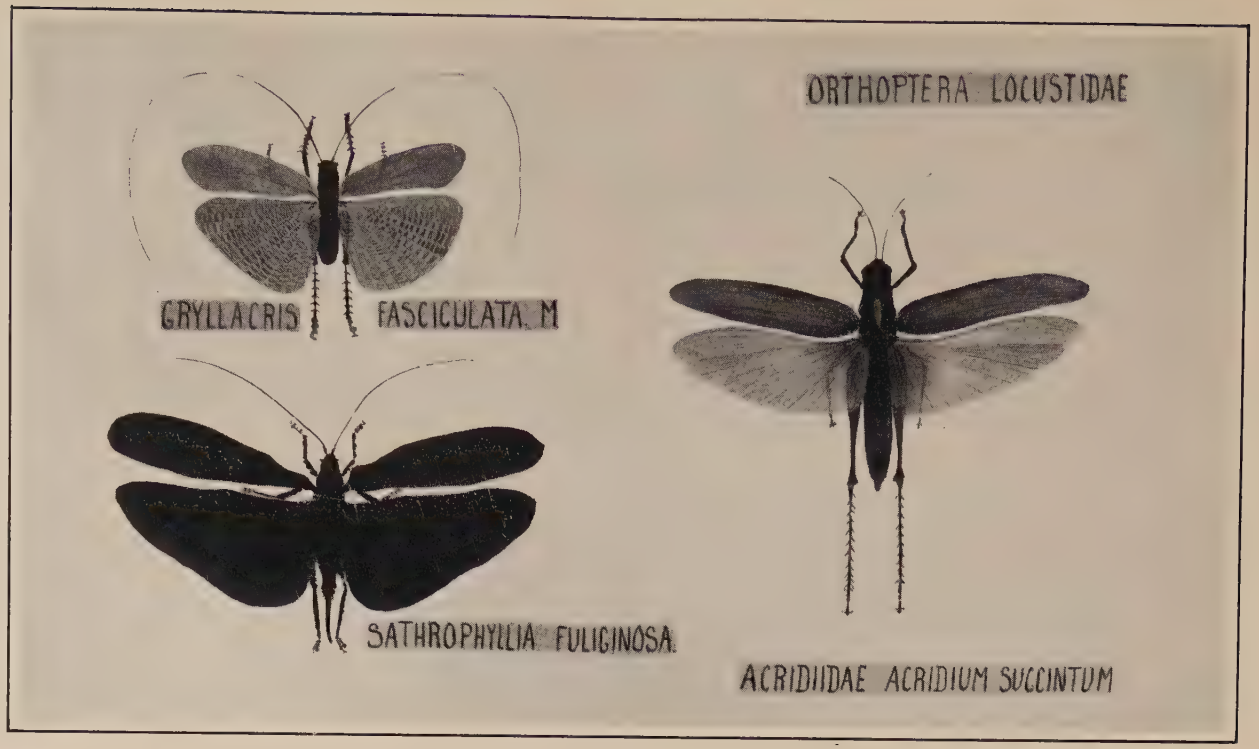
friends of sunny days, these quarry of many a desperate chase: nor does space permit the mention of their splendid contemporaries in Borneo.

87. And all the rest we must pass by in silence—strong *Charaxes*, green *Eulepis*, sky-blue *Junonia wallacei*, red *Cethosia*, lilac *Pathenos*—and that shining galax of the forest deep *Amathusia*, *Thauria*, *Thaumantis*, *Zeuxidia*. Lists of Malayan butterflies and insects caught during two years are given in Appendix I for the benefit of those interested in such matters. Altogether there are believed to be 600 kinds of butterflies in the Peninsula, which compares favourably with the much larger area of Lower Amazon, where Bates says there are 700. In the whole of Europe there are only 321: and in the British Isles 66, of which at least one (the Large Copper) is probably extinct. England, however, is rich in moths, of which there are said to be over 2000. Of the 600 Malayan butterflies, probably one-half are inconspicuous 'Blues' and 'Skippers,' which are usually ignored except by the experts: so that the number to be collected and studied (and the histories of only a few are known) is probably not more than 300.

88. Of the remaining Orders of insects few are really well known, and the number of species is discouraging. Even such outstanding families as the Mantids, Phasmids, Fulgorids, Longicorns, and generally

the Orders Neuroptera and Rhynchota, have not yet been worked out, so that identification is always difficult and often impossible. However, the prevailing ignorance regarding Malayan forms makes their study all the more necessary. Perhaps the most striking Order is ORTHOPTERA. These include the Mantidae (Mantis), of which there is a great variety yet unclassified: Gryllidae (Crickets): Locustidae (Horned Grasshoppers): Acridiidae (Short-horned Grasshoppers): and above all in interest Phasmudae (Grasshoppers, Stick-insects and Leaf Insects).

89. In September, 1924, I was sent up Wray's Hill (3000 feet) above Taiping in Perak, to clear an area of virgin jungle for the site of a sanatorium. The work was done by my Kachin Company, recruited from the north-eastern frontier of Burma, so that I had a hundred expert forest-folk to watch the undergrowth as it fell. Moreover, every good insect found was worth a tot of rum—and the remarkable collection thus obtained in an area not very well known to entomologists gave a fair idea of the jungle forms. Captain Pendlebury, of the Kuala Lumpur Museum, patiently identified as many specimens as possible. Of these, a handsome rose-coloured cricket—*Gryllacris*, sub-species *fasciculata*—and a large brown Locustid—species *Sathrophyllia fuliginosa*, with a span of $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches across the wings—are possibly both new,



SOME NEW ORTHOPTERA

The Orthoptera of Malaya are magnificent. The *Gryllacris* (rose-pink) is probably new. The *Sathrophyllia* (dark brown, and $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches across) is also possibly a new sub-species. The only thing like it is a specimen caught fifty years ago, and now in the Stockholm Museum.

and may therefore be singled out for mention here. With regard to the Locustid, the 'type species,' the only specimen known of the kind, was obtained fifty years ago and is now in the Museum at Stockholm.

90. Stick Insects often attain a great size. One, procured in Kroh in Upper Perak, has a body of $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, but with legs outstretched measures $16\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The Rhasinids are often covered with thorns, and are large and handsome. Little is known about them. In their early moults the wings (which are then immovable) are only in embryo; but when fully grown are of great size, the fore-wings being opaque and papery, and the hind-wings of a beautiful mauve-pink transparency. One (caught on Wray's Hill) has a wing spread of $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches and is possibly a species new to science. The legs are covered with formidable 'thorns.' It is a perfectly magnificent insect: and it is encouraging to note that, at this advanced date, it is possible to find species new to science which are amongst the largest and most handsome. Another immature Rhasinid, bright yellow, and with the body alone $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, was also secured, but has not yet been worked out. These great insects are found on the fronds of palms in the densest undergrowth; and though worth a dollar each on Wray's Hill, three

only were brought in by my Kachins who would do almost anything for a dollar.

91. These and other Phasmudae, by reason of their resemblance to thorns, sticks and leaves, are very hard to see in spite of their great size. Most of them seem to live on the prickly-stemmed palm (called *M'bwi* by the Kachins); but Leaf Insects naturally frequent the herbaceous trees they so closely resemble. All that can be said of these amazing creatures is that they *are* leaves, with veins, ribs, perforations and blemishes all complete. They hang on a branch and are stirred by the wind exactly like the leaves around them, and those who doubt the theory of adaptation to environment would do well to search for Leaf Insects. It took me sixteen months to find one! There appear to be at least two kinds—one green, mimicking the fresh leaf, and one brown and partially perforated, resembling the dead leaf. It seems that they were discovered in 1521 on the Island of Palawan off Borneo by the Italian Pigafetta, the historian of Magellan's voyage round the world. He writes thus: "In this island are found certain trees, the leaves of which, when they fall off, are animated and walk."[1]

92. But, after all, it would be true to say that of all mechanisms in the world, natural or artificial, there

[1] Hakluyt Society, *Magellan.*

are none so perfect as the wing of the common earwig.

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93. I am tempted to say something, too, of the Order Rhynchota, or Bugs, because the forests of Wray's Hill produced many of great size and beauty, and, it may be added, stinkiness.[1] But the finest family in this Order (and it is a shame to classify them with stink-bugs) is that of Fulgoridae, or Lantern Fly —certainly the most delightful insects after the butterflies. Four species were obtained, and there are others —all brilliantly coloured. The Fulgoridae have four wings with a span of about 4 inches: and the head ends in a long trunk, suggesting that of an elephant. In *Fulgora pyrorhyncha* the trunk is tipped as with a bit of red sealing-wax, and the wings are black, pink and blue. In another, *Fulgora*, the colour scheme of the wings is black, blue and white, with green and orange bands: in *Pyropsdohrni*, faint mauve with black and orange speckles: and in others (unclassified) black, blue and orange. These strange and beautiful insects have a strong flight, their 'trunks' being easily distinguishable against a background of white cloud. They alight on the bare boles of large trees where probably they suck up sap.

[1] Notably Pentatomidae, *Eusthenes robustus* and *Catacanthus incarnatus:* and Coreidae, *Prionlomia.*

94. The Cicadidae, or Tree-Crickets, are both numerous and noisy, and are of all sizes from the small brown *Platypleura kaempferi* ($2\frac{3}{8}$ inches), up to *Pomponia imperatoria*, which is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches across. This gigantic tree-cricket is brown, with transparent wings which are colourless but for the veins which are scarlet at the base. Its imperious note has suggested the scientific name, and also the popular one, which is 'Trumpet Beetle'—though, of course, it is not a beetle at all. I have known three heavy sleepers awakened when one of these crickets alighted one night on a tree near our hut on Wray's Hill. The only other cricket to be mentioned here is *Tacua speciosa* with opaque blackish wings, beautifully veined with maroon, and with patches of blue, green and crimson on the body. The Cicadidae are very long lived, and have passed a dozen years as grubs in the ground by the time one sees them crawling new-hatched up the tree trunks. They probably feed on sap.

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95. The Malayan HYMENOPTERA (Ichneumons, wasps, bees and ants) are chiefly remarkable for their size. Ichneumons are often highly coloured. A giant black Digger-Wasp[1] with clear, sherry-coloured wings, obtained in Upper Perak, measures 2 inches in length

[1] *Pompilidae salius.*

of body alone, and its vitality is such that it can survive nine hours in the killing-bottle. Some of the bees are very small indeed; while certain wood-boring bees[1] are of great size and covered with beautifully coloured hairs. One of the commonest black ants is $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch long. The fiery little red ants[2] make their nests between leaves, which they draw together and fix in position by forcing their own larvæ to secrete a sticky substance along the edges. It is comforting to know that these aggressive little fiends are mimicked by no less than two kinds of spiders, which prey on them.

. . . . . .

96. Of the COLEOPTERA (Beetles and Weevils), many are most destructive both to cultivated and jungle trees—and a weevil with a body alone 2 inches long can effect something! (In Borneo I saw a weevil, *Protocerius colossus*, that is 4 inches long.) There is (Fig. 2 of opposite plate) a black Lamellicornia beetle[3] $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long with a horn like a rhinoceros's; and a golden-brown Longicornia, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with fine, heavy antennæ. But perhaps the most interesting is the 'Fiddle Beetle,' which occurs[4] also in Borneo and Sumatra (Fig. 1) and is $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches long without the

[1] *Xylocopa latipes.*
[2] *Oecophylla smaragdina.*
[3] *Scarabaeidae trichogomphus.*
[4] Carabidae, *Mormolyce phyllodes.*

antennæ. The head and neck are much elongated, while the wing-cases are flattened out to a width of 2 inches, giving the insect the shape of a violin. It is a curious looking creature and not common, and is usually found flattened against the underside of a fallen trunk where, being brown in colour, it is almost invisible. Of the Glow-worms there is one shaped rather like a scaly centipede, but at night it gleams so brightly from rows of phosphorescent patches down its entire length that it can be seen from quite a distance amongst the fallen leaves it frequents.

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97. So much for the Insects. If they have been treated too fully even in this brief summary, it is because they are really worth more attention than they usually receive.

98. There are said to be 110 kinds of snakes in the Peninsula, though few are seen. The largest is the Python: one recently killed near Parit having measured 27 feet. The District Officer there has a 20-foot skin on his wall. The only Python I have met (at Jor) was a short, stout kind, of a reddish colour that made it hardly distinguishable on laterite soil. It was probably the rather rare species *P. curtus*, which is described as from 8 to 10 feet long. Lying, as it

COLEOPTERA

Number 1, the "Fiddle Beetle," is one of the curiosities of tropical jungles, and in the middle of the last century a museum in Paris paid a thousand francs for a single specimen. The body alone (without antennæ) is $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches long. The insect occurs in Sumatra, Borneo and the Malay Peninsula

was, in a narrow jungle path, it was impossible to pass, and I rather admired a Sakai lad who was carrying my lunch, and who attacked and killed it with a knife, though he obviously disliked the job. Vipers, and for that matter many other snakes, are semi-arboreal, and that, no doubt, is why more are not seen: and, further, most of the large kinds are nocturnal.

99. Quite the most beautiful Malayan snake, and also, they say, one of the deadliest, is *Doliophis birvirgatus* (the *Mata Hari*, or ' Sun Snake,' of the Malays). This small serpent—and it is not more than about a foot long—is like a cloisonné jewel. The back is Oxford-blue, the sides Cambridge-blue, the belly brick-red and the head and tail crimson. It is pretty common amongst the fallen leaves on Wray's Hill. It is one of those creatures whose bright colours seem highly unsuitable in deep forest, though it must be admitted that it is not as conspicuous as one would imagine. Perhaps they are ' warning colours.'

100. An interesting, but harmless snake, which occurs throughout the Peninsula is *Coluber taeniurus*, which in the caves of Kuala Lumpur has assumed a whitish colour to adapt it for life on the dim limestone rock. These caves, I believe, have other white fauna, including a white cockroach. In the case of the last two snakes mentioned we have a poisonous

one developing bright colours, and a harmless one evolving, in one special locality, a neutral colour.

101. The Cobra is of two varieties, black and brown, distributed throughout the Peninsula. The black species is more or less docile, and the Malays even spare it: but the brown one is savage and much feared. These cobras (as also those of Burma) make a curious snorting sound when enraged, and spit—for which reason they are called *Naia sputatrix*. This spitting habit is well known, is effective up to 8 or 10 feet, and is apparently aimed at the eyes, causing much temporary inflammation. Many cases of men and dogs spat upon in the face are on record.

The most extraordinary snake I saw in the Malay Peninsula was a specimen of *Homalopsis buccata* with two heads, which was taken on Mr. Jakes' estate in 1925. This small water-snake is about 6 inches long, and is blackish brown marked strongly with irregular yellow rings. The body was quite normal, but at the neck branched as do the fingers of a hand, into two perfect necks and two perfect heads. It seems that the species is not uncommonly deformed in this peculiar way. A specimen, taken in Siam, is illustrated in the Natural History Society of Siam's *Journal*, Vol. II, for 1916–17, page 255, where it is mentioned that two more double-headed members of the species had been seen. The note states that the

extra head is only perfect externally, the internal organs being deficient, so that the snake cannot eat with both mouths. It is curious that the species should be afflicted with this one kind of deformity in widely separated localities.

102. The Hamadryad (*Naia Bungarus*) attains 13 feet, and is the largest poisonous snake in this country. I have seen one of about 8 feet which swam in towards us, apparently from the open sea, while we were bathing on the beach at Pangkor Island. On seeing us it made off to sea; but evidently fearing another long swim, turned towards us again raising itself slightly in the water and expanding its hood. Eventually it came to rest on a rock, with little waves breaking over it: and as it was in an exhausted condition we were able to kill it—though not without considerable commotion amongst the bathers!

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103. At Pangkor Island many strange fish may be seen newly caught, and thrumming on the golden sand when the fishermen haul in their nets: and it is really quite exciting to watch them being landed. They are of all shapes—flat, deep, slim, stumpy, smooth or covered with poisonous spines, and many are highly coloured. Of the smaller kinds are the queer little ' Box fish ' which are square and all face:

the squid: the blue-green *Ikan Julong* (the name is Malay), snouted like a tiny sword-fish: *Ikan Bayang*, the 'Shadow Fish': *Ikan Barat Barat*, the 'West West Fish,' which has a long spike above and two below: and a host of small fry of which the wastage is frightful. Amongst the thorny and poisonous fish is the muddy-brown *Ikan Lipok*, and the 'Sun Fish' that quickly dies and swells, and when thrown back floats like a balloon on the water. Almost every haul includes a number of large Stinging-ray, whose long, whip-like tails, armed half-way up with a barb, inflict serious wounds. I was told that Stinging-ray are found six hundred miles up the Irrawaddy in flood time, and discredited it, till I read that they occur far up the Amazon. There are almost always turtle in the net, which are preserved and released, and dash away out to sea in fine style. A few lay in the sands of Pangkor. We found a nest of 160 eggs, and innocently sold them, being promptly run in by the police. The curious fish *Toxotes jaculator* (which I have never seen) occurs in some streams, where it shoots down flies from the river-side foliage with a drop of water. The mangrove coasts are the home of numerous land-fish that skip about on the mud, or walk on their gills. These are by no means the only fish that leave the water. A small perch is credited with being able to climb trees. The *Ikan Patin*, which attains a length

(Major Pearse)

SEA SPOIL

In many parts of the Malayan coast there are lovely sands. A little crowd always gathers to watch the fishermen drag in their nets, laden with the wonders of tropical seas.

of 2 feet, has been seen 150 feet from water up a dry creek in Pahang, where a score of them were feeding on a dead pig. I was told this by an actual witness who is a reliable authority on Malayan fish.

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104. The birds of Malaya are usually considered disappointing. The truth is that many species exist, but are not numerous individually; and are rarely seen on account of the thickness of the foliage. There is no grand display as in Burma, where endless charming legends are associated with the birds. The commonest is the Swift, and after that the black-and-white Straits Robin, which, as its name (*Copsychus musicus*) implies, has a sweet song. It is a favourite cage bird. The scarlet Minivet, the gay little Iora of Burma, many exquisite Sun-birds[1] and several Kingfishers occur; including the beautiful 'Black-capped Kingfisher'[2] with shining blue plumage. In open country are found various pigeon, the Malay Dove, the Bronze-winged Ground Dove; while White-headed Munias[3] go about in little flocks, their white heads and brown bodies having earned them the appropriate name of 'Cigar-birds.' The common

[1] Notably the 'Malay Yellow-backed Sun-bird' (*Aethopyga siparaja*), and the 'Ruby-cheeked Sun-bird' (*Anthreptes singalensis*).

[2] *Halcyon pileatus.* [3] *Munia maja.*

Bornean form has a black head. The Malay Peninsula was formerly renowned for its snipe, but irrigation has to some extent spoiled the shooting of Krian. Peacock and the Fire-backed Pheasant are plentiful on the east coast.

105. The commonest birds of the deep jungle are various Hornbills with grotesque 'casques.' And there are some of exquisite beauty—the 'Red-billed Malkoha,'[1] the 'Peacock Pheasant,' the 'Giant Red-bearded Bee-eater'[2] and the 'Malay Fairy Blue Bird,'[3] of which the whole upper plumage in the male is shining cobalt. It is impossible to describe the loveliness of these gay-plumaged birds in the twilight shadows of a Malayan forest. They are not commonly seen, but when they *are* one is lost in admiration.

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106. The mammals have already been referred to in connection with their general distribution throughout the Archipelago. It is only necessary to say here that the Peninsula possesses elephant, rhinoceros, tapir, tiger, panther, bear, apes, monkeys, deer, mouse-deer and many kinds of squirrels, of which one, the 'Malay Pied Giant Squirrel,'[4] is 33 inches long, and is

[1] *Zanclostomus javanicus.*
[2] *Nyctiornis amictus.*
[3] *Irena cyanea.*
[4] *Ratufa melanopepla peninsulae.*

evidently allied to *Zahkai* of Burma and *Ratufa maxima* of Malabar. In 1925 a rhino that had been shot without licence near Taiping was confiscated by the Museum, and on examination proved to be *Sondaicus*, the one-horned species with a tesselated skin which used to range from Burma to Java, but which had been supposed for the last twenty years to be extinct. Tapir are protected, and occasionally wander down into the villages; and at Baling, in Kedah, one was domesticated some years ago and used in a plough. Tiger are rarely seen owing to the thickness of the jungle, but they are so numerous that in 1924 the reward for destroying them in the vicinity of Taiping had to be increased temporarily from $25 to $100. Several were shot: but one man-eater took over a dozen persons, killing one in the Chinese Temple of the town. They seem to prefer Chinese, and indeed cannibals tell us that cooked Chinaman is delicate.

107. There is a good deal of authentic information regarding tigers, well known to Malays, though not mentioned in the Natural History books. Hare-lipped Malays, for instance, can turn themselves into tigers. Deformed tigers are usually of saintly habits, and should not be molested ; and for this reason Malays leave their kris at home as a sign of good faith when a maimed tiger is about. Tiger are accom-

panied by birds with a peculiar whistle, which I have heard in the forests of Sĕlama. I was out after that splendid moth *Nyctalemnon patroclus*, armed only with a net; and the tiger's proximity very seriously cramped my style. In such circumstances Malays will not mention the word 'tiger' (another form of 'taboo,' I suppose), but speak of him as 'My Lord.' Frightful stories are told of tigers entering houses, and playing with their victims as a cat with mice, though it must not be supposed from such tales that Malays are terribly afraid of tigers. The contrary is often enough the case, and Malays have been known to drive them off with stones, though they will never follow them into long grass. But it does seem that tigers are fiercer in Malaya than in Burma, where they are little feared. One of my own Kachin riflemen shot a tiger with 'No. 4' shot: another tackled one with a dah and got his arm broken: and recently some Kachin villagers killed one with nothing in their hands but sticks.[1]

[1] *A Burmese Arcady*, pages 193–4.

CHAPTER V

THE NEGRITOS

108. Slightly above the animals, but only very slightly, comes Primitive Man; and his claim to elevation rests chiefly on his superior dirt and destructiveness.

109. The Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula come under three main heads: *Semang*, who are a Negroid type: *Sakai*, who are believed to be a Dravido-Australian race: and *Jakun*, who are Proto (or Primitive) Malays.

110. Of these, the Semang Negritos are the earliest inhabitants of the Peninsula of whom anything is known: and though it does not at all follow that the most primitive people are necessarily the first arrivals, it appears to be so in this case. There is no evidence of linguistic relationship between the Negritos of Malaya and those of the Andamans, but the period for which the few existing Negrito communities have been separated from each other must be very great.

111. In spite of Skeat and Blagden's voluminous and extremely ill-arranged *Pagan Races*, very little useful information is available about the Semang. They are dark, with woolly hair, and flat, spreading noses, feeble chins, and lips often everted: and sometimes they are almost pigmies in size. But for a bark loin-cloth, they are naked; and, in common with

other local wild races, their bodies are covered with a scaly disease which some say is a fungus growth, but which is probably due to a poor diet of roots and lizards. Scratching is a favourite pastime. Truly, in their miserable lean-to shelters in the forest they seem hardly human. They are nomadic, rarely stopping more than two or three days in one place, but it should be understood that the migrations of all these races are limited within fixed boundaries. They are, indeed, so far localised that even the wildest have their own Ipoh and Durian trees to which they return periodically. They have, however, no form of agriculture whatever, and live upon jungle produce, and by hunting, fishing and trapping. Their distinctive weapon is the bow and poisoned arrow. They live under overhanging rocks or leaf-shelters, and build no houses. Obviously, beings so primitive who have not yet learned to raise crops or build houses must be very low in the scale of humanity.

112. It should be added, however, that in recent years civilization has begun to influence many of the Wild Tribes. They are less shy, and so more amenable than they were even a decade ago. Some have begun to sow crops, which restricts their tendency to wander: and that in turn leads to the construction of huts and houses. But the Semang have experienced these influences only to a very limited degree.

(*F. W. Majer*)

SEMANG

The Semang are woolly-haired Negritos. Negritos occur in Siam, the Andamans, the Malay Peninsula, and in the Philippines. They are the oldest race of whom anything is known in the Peninsula, and many still neither build houses nor cultivate any sort of crops.

113. Roughly speaking, the Semang occupy the wooded hills in the north of the Peninsula, in Kedah, Perak and Northern Pahang: with occasional communities like the Temo in Ulu Bera and Ulu Rompin in South Pahang. There has been a considerable fusion, and it is not always easy to distinguish Semang from Sakai, though in their pure state the two are of entirely different stock. Negritos occur also in the Andamans and the Philippines, but not, so far as is known, in Sumatra, Java or Borneo.

114. Both Semang and Sakai obtain fire by friction. The men are not absolutely naked, but very nearly so: and the most primitive tribes of Burma, such as the Gwebya, the Ring Chin and the Wa, who, though naked, cultivate and live in villages, are enormously more advanced than these Negritos. The Semang women of Kedah wear combs that have magic properties, and are charms against disease: and the girdles of both sexes are sometimes made of a stringy fungus.

115. According to *Pagan Tribes*, Semang children are named from trees. The father notches the tree, and thenceforth its life and that of the child are to some extent interdependent. The child, when it grows, will not damage trees of that species, or eat their fruit. Further, the human soul is supposed to be identified with a bird, and is resident in that bird's body till it becomes incarnate in the embryo child.

The bird that brings souls to male children is the Argus-pheasant. Most Negritos take one wife, but amongst some more are permissible, and rare cases of polyandry are reported amongst Sakai. The marriage ceremony is very simple, and consists in some tribes of eating from one dish, giving presents, or being declared married by the chief or family. In other cases the groom chases the bride round an ant-heap; and in one tribe pursues her in a canoe.

Science has thrown new light upon these Negrito races, and upon the Australian Bushmen, by tracing their relationship back to the prehistoric Grimaldi of Mentone. And in this connection it is worth noting that the latest discoveries tend to show that prehistoric types of which fossil remains have been found did not disappear as completely as has been supposed, but are still recognizable in living men.

CHAPTER VI

THE SAKAI

116. The Sakai occupy the mountains of South-east Perak and North-west Pahang. There is said to be some dividing line between their hills and those of the Semang, but the truth is that the two have inter-bred to a considerable extent, while the introduction of Islam amongst the Malays has prevented any extensive mixing by Wild Tribes in civilized society. In the south, Sakai have mixed with Jakun in Negri Sembilan, Malacca and Johore. Sakai, though recently influenced to some extent by civilization, are still largely nomadic: but though shy at first, are the most sociable of the three Wild Races.

117. They tattoo the face in certain districts, and sometimes wear a ring or a porcupine's quill through the nose. Being terribly afraid of ghosts, they often hang up dry honeycombs or perforated cocoanut shells outside their dwellings, so that spirits may be distracted by so many holes, and so fail to find their way into the Sakais' abode. Their distinctive weapon is the blow-pipe, with which they are extremely skilful. The bow is the weapon of the Negrito Semang, the blow-pipe of the Sakai, and the spear of the Jakun.[1]

[1] Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula.*

118. The use of the blow-pipe is more or less limited to the area in which Ipoh poison grows, though it is probable that occasionally darts are prepared with other poisons as well. In Borneo iron dart-points are used, but never by the Sakai of the Peninsula.

119. The effective range of the dart is 50 to 60 yards, though it is seldom used at objects over 30 yards. Ipoh poison is a compound derived from the Ipoh tree (*Antiaris*) and the Ipoh creeper (*Strychnos*). Small birds are killed almost instantaneously. Monkeys succumb in a few minutes, and soon fall from the trees. To human beings the poison is effective in proportion to its freshness, for after some time it loses its strength. When new it is fatal.

120. The blow-pipe consists of an inner and an outer tube. The inner tube is made of a kind of bamboo of which the joints are very far apart, so that there is little friction from roughnesses in the 'bore.' The outer casing protects the tube, and prevents it from warping. The surface of the weapon is often decorated with geometrical designs, the whole being so light that it can be held to the lips by its extreme end. The darts are not bamboo, but are made from the ribs of a leaf, and are carried each separately in a case. A little wad of down is packed in behind them in the pipe to prevent windage. The Murut blow-

(*F. W. Major*)

SAKAI

The 'Wild Tribes' of the Malay Peninsula are classified broadly as Sakai, Semang and Jakun. The distinctive weapon of the Sakai is the blowpipe. It is so light that it can be held to the lips by the extreme end.

pipe of Borneo is quite different, being bored out of a solid length of wood, and furnished with a spear head. Though heavy, it can be kept steady if held in the right way.[1]

121. These Sakai are true children of the jungle, who have adapted themselves to its conditions—a people keen of sight and scent. It is said that they can even detect the presence of a snake by smell.

122. Rock shelters and weather screens are used, but, as a rule, Sakai prefer huts, sometimes placing them up trees at a height of 30 feet from the ground. Their dress is a strip of Ipoh bark, beaten soft with a mallet and soaked, and in Perak they occasionally wear a fungus fringe like that of the Semang.

123. Sakai met in the vicinity of Jor on the road to the 'Cameron Highlands' are, despite dirt and shyness, rather pleasant. They have the attractive simplicity and good-heartedness of many primitive folk, and are certainly far more intelligent than the Semang of Lengong. In Ulu Kinta the Sakai are quite civilized, and dress almost like the Malays. They cut timber, even work a little tin, and are thus able to buy salt and improve their diet, so freeing their bodies from the prevailing skin disease. But even in this advanced state they still sometimes build their huts up trees.

[1] See my *Kinabalu, the Haunted Mountain of Borneo.*

124. In colour, the Sakai vary from brown to yellow, and are lighter even than Malays. The hair is long and black, the nose finely cut and tilted, the eyes horizontal and half-closed, and the chin sharp and pointed.

125. The Sakai appear mainly to worship demons and godlings. That is, they are Animists. They so greatly fear the dead that they usually desert a site as soon as a death occurs there.

126. As we have said, the Sakai are considered to be Dravido-Australian. They are therefore entirely different from anything else in the Peninsula—the Semang being Negroid, and the Malay Mongoloid. At first they were thought to be Mon-Khmer,[1] since many words of that family occur in their speech; but, as we shall see, the second oldest inhabitants of the Peninsula were Mon-Khmers (since disappeared), and it was from them that the Sakai derived words, as a result of long association. It is not known how the Sakai came here, or whence: but it is certain that they have inhabited the Peninsula since very early times.

[1] Mon-Khmer is a Talaing-Cambodian type.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROTO MALAYS

127. Amongst the Wild Tribes mentioned in Chapter V were Jakun, who were described as Proto Malays, or Primitive Malays. These people speak languages that are distinctly Malay, but at first were thought to be of the Sakai type, and to have acquired Malay from close and prolonged association with Malays, just as the Sakai picked up words from the Mon-Khmer. This, however, has been proved not to be the case, for there are similar Malay-speaking wild tribes in Sumatra, Borneo and other parts of the Archipelago; and it has been observed that the languages of all differ from Malay to about the same extent, and possess the same archaic Malay words, though these races, from their isolated positions, have not assimilated either the culture or the religion of modern Malays. The conclusion now accepted is that these scattered Malay-speaking communities are, in fact, true Malays of a Primitive type; and they are classed as 'Proto Malays'—that is, as more Malay than the Malays who have been subject to so many outside influences. Proto Malays are the survival of the original Malay type who have retained their ancient speech, customs and Animism. Besides the Jakun of the Peninsula, the 'aborigines' of Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes,

Ternate, Tidore and parts of Indo-China are of this type.

128. The Malayan origin of the Jakun is confirmed by the traditions that they, like the Malays, came to the Peninsula from Sumatra where there are still tribes —notably the Kubu—who seem to be closely related. The Jakun include a number of scattered communities such as *Orang Bukit*—Hill Jakuns, and Benua: *Orang Laut*—Sea Jakuns: the *Blandas* of Selangor: the *Besisi* of the Selangor and Malacca coasts: the *Mantra* of Malacca: and the *Udai* of Johore.

129. The Jakun, it will be noticed, occupy the south of the Malay Peninsula. They are coppery in colour, with straight, smooth, black hair of Mongolian type. The cheek-bone is high, the eyes are slightly oblique: and in passing we may note that Skeat and Blagden[1] say elsewhere that "The true Malay should always bear some relationship to the Mongolian or Tartar type."

130. The conversion of the Malays to Islam more than 600 years ago was an important event for the wild races who lived in the hills beyond the influence of such revolutions. Its ultimate effect was to separate them still further from the Malays, and to prevent their absorption by inter-marriage. With ill-treatment, they retired still more into the interior, and

[1] Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula.*

came to be regarded as heathen wild beasts to be enslaved, murdered and plundered at will. Since the advent of the British, these conditions have changed, and the Jakun and other tribes are rapidly merging into the Malays. Their dress is now very similar to that of Malays. Though inclined to be nomadic, they usually practise some form of agriculture, and live in fairly good houses. Skeat and Blagden describe their religion as the "Pagan or pre-Mohammedan (Shamanistic) creed of the Peninsula Malays."

131. The absorption of the Jakun is naturally leading to the extinction of many aboriginal languages, and in the south certain dialects have already almost disappeared. "The 'Camphor Taboo' language of Johore (a speech used only while out searching for the half-mystic Camphor) is probably a remnant of obsolete Jakun dialects. The Malays, too, have taboo vocabularies applicable to fishing, mining, etc., the motive being fear of supernatural powers":[1] and while climbing Mt. Kinabalu in Borneo I found it was taboo amongst the Dusun to mention the name of the mountain or of certain streams during the ascent.

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132. The Dutch writer Cabaton has described the

[1] Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula.*

Proto Malay races of Sumatra. He says that Sumatra is about the size of Spain, and thirteen times as large as the Netherlands to which it now belongs: but the population is only 3,189,000, as compared with 30,000,000 in the adjacent and smaller Island of Java.

133. Of these Sumatrans, the Lampong inhabit the southern extremity of the country on the Straits of Sunda, facing the Sundanese of Java, with whom they are in constant touch. They are Mohammedans of a lax sort. And here we may state once for all that none of the people in these parts, not even the Malays themselves, are very strict observers of Islam. In some places pork is eaten: in others the 'Ramzan' is not observed: and nowhere is there any extreme bigotry. Mohammedanism has 'happened,' but it by no means suits the Malay temperament. '*Adat*,' the old customs (Hindu or Animistic) come first, and often enough they clash with the laws of Islam.

134. Little was known of the Batak till 1867. They were said to be cannibals, who ate prisoners and aged relatives. They, however, deny such charges, and it is probable that they only practised ritual killing and the symbolic consumption of the victim's flesh. "Out of 500,000 Batak, 125,000 are now Mussulmans, 80,000 Christians, and the rest Animists with beliefs modified by vague memories of Hinduism. . . . Their character is peaceable and easy, and they are

farmers and cattle-breeders." The Batak appear to be allied to the Dayaks of Borneo.

135. The Gayo occupy the western coast of Sumatra, and the following customs practised by them are of interest because they all occur in Burma in one part or another. They file the teeth. When they are childless they readily adopt children of other races. Boys and young men sleep in a common house up to the time of marriage.

136. The Achinese are described as surly and turbulent; but it must be remembered that they have resisted the Netherlands stoutly and defiantly for a long period of years, and that a Dutch writer is perhaps not unbiassed. Cabaton says:—

"The Kingdom of Acheen boasts of its foundation in the 13th century. It is certain that in the 17th century their Sultan ruled half Sumatra and had relations with Turkey, China, Egypt and Japan."

One might add that Acheen also conquered and ruled a considerable part of the Malay Peninsula including Perak, Johore and Pahang.

"No doubt these memories, and a somewhat bellicose temperament, have made them unwilling to accept Dutch rule, against which they have desperately struggled since 1883." (This was written in 1911.) "Those of the Hills are called Orang Tunong, and are warlike, fanatical, haters of foreigners, and

incorrigible brigands. Those of the plains are called Orang Baroh, and are more peaceable."

We shall hear more of these Achenese as our legend develops.

137. The Niassai inhabit the Nias Islands, and number 240,000. They are described as gay and hospitable, but capable of hypocrisy, cowardice and cruelty: and inordinately fond of dress. They are pure Animists with many superstitions. They fear Albinos and ill-treat them. The funerals of Chiefs are accompanied by human sacrifices. They destroy twin babies—as also do the Kaw of Burma.

138. The inhabitants of Pulau Telandjung, as the name is said to suggest, go quite naked. (It is not clear whether they can be properly regarded as Proto Malay.) They are rapidly decreasing. There were 3000 in 1862, 692 in 1893 and barely 600 when Cabaton wrote in 1911.

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139. In Borneo the Dayaks, who are known as Land Dayaks and Sea Dayaks, are classed by Bampfylde and Baring-Gould as Proto Malays.[1]

140. Land Dayaks are so-called by Europeans because they are unaccustomed to go to sea. Captain Kepple says that " in character they are mild, tractable

[1] Bampfylde and Baring-Gould, *History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajas.*

and hospitable when well used, grateful for kindness, industrious, honest and simple: neither treacherous nor cunning, and so truthful that the word of one of them might be safely taken before the oath of half a dozen Malays." The Dayaks are Animists, but their stone images of bulls, their deity called Jewata (Devata), and their abstention from beef, etc., suggest contact at some period with Hinduism, and probably that of the Hindu-Javanese Empire of Majapahit, which, as we shall see later, extended its influence to Borneo.

141. Sea Dayaks are racially distinct. They are so-called from their aptitude for seafaring, but they are, in fact, an Interior people, and the word 'Dayak,' a corruption of ' Orang Daya,' means ' Inland Man.' Radically their language is Malay, and probably they originated from Sumatra before the advent of Islam, where we have already noted that the Batak appear to be allied. They are frank and pleasing in manner, and have many good qualities—being honest, cheerful, thrifty, industrious and comparatively moral. They are, however, exceedingly sensitive, and prone to suicide, especially if put to shame. It is curious that these comparatively mild people, surrounded as they are by much fiercer races like Kayan and Kenyah, should be the chief Head-hunters of Borneo. Head-hunting, however, is merely ritualistic. They do it

in a kindly spirit, and without malice, because guardian spirits are necessary when a man marries, or when relations or Chiefs pass into another world. The *raison d'être* is to obtain a protector; and for this reason heads are nicely dried, ornamented with flowers and offered titbits at feasts, which makes it all easier—one hopes—for the victim. Dayak villages often consist of huge communal houses, 800 feet long, accommodating three hundred people. Some ethnologists believe that Dayaks are allied to the Cham, Bahnar and Stieng of French Indo-China.

142. Speaking of Interior Dayaks in Dutch Borneo, Cabaton says:—

"They are vitiated by the stifling atmosphere of the tropical forests, decimated by smallpox, hostile to foreigners, and attached, above all, to strange and brutal customs. Although these customs vary from tribe to tribe, we may describe the Dayaks generally, as clad in a girdle or loin-cloth of beaten bark, while the women wear a short petticoat and vest of the same material or of cotton. Both sexes carry their long hair twisted into a chignon, covering the head with a handkerchief. . . . Some expose their dead in trees: some burn them: some bury them and later collect the bones into a family tomb: and others hollow out part of a growing tree, insert the corpse, and carefully replace the bark."

143. The Kayan and Kenyah are important tribes, noted formerly for their frightful cruelty, and that of their women, who seem to have had a genius for devising tortures for captives, slaves and strangers. Their tendencies in that direction are probably only in abeyance now. Socially they are divided into Chiefs with unlimited privileges, and Serfs with none at all. Yet, in spite of their natural ferocity, the Kayan and Kenyah are not addicted to head-hunting like the far milder Dayaks. Like many interior tribes they tattoo: and the lobes of their ears, being perforated and heavily weighted, become exceedingly elongated, even reaching to the shoulders as depicted in the frescoes of Boro Bodeo in Java—another trace, it is thought, of an ancient Hindu influence in Borneo. Races like the Kanowit, Kajaman, Sekapan, Maloh, Lanan, Sebop, Madang and Tanjong (Cape People), and also the Melanau, an important coast tribe who have adopted Malayan religion and civilization, are believed to be allied to the Kayan and Kenyah.[1]

144. The Ukit are another savage race of Borneo. They are nomadic, use the blow-pipe and are inveterate enemies of the Dayaks, who fear them. Closely related are a number of scattered communities like Lisum, Panan, Bukitan, Bliun (now nearly

[1] Bampfylde and Baring-Gould, *History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajas.*

extinct), Segalang and Seru. The last two have been civilized to some extent by contact with Malays. A few of these tribes occur on or near the Bornean coast, but the majority belong to the interior. The names *Ukit* and *Bukitan* are derived from the Malay *Bukit*—'A Hill.'[1]

145. The Dusun aud Murut are the predominating tribes in British North Borneo, where the 'Wild Tribes' furnish three-fifths of the population. Messrs. Hose and McDougal class Dusun under the head of Murut, and believe the Murut to be emigrants from Annam. Owen Rutter[2] says that, generally speaking, the Murut occupy the uplands of the interior, and the Dusun the plains, downs and coastal ranges. In older books Dusun are referred to as 'Id'aan,' but the term is no longer used. 'Dusun' is a Malay word meaning 'Orchard,' suggested as a name for this people by the fruit trees planted round their settlements. They have, of course, other names for themselves, and are subdivided into many sections. From a remote age they have intermarried with Chinese settlers, and have acquired certain Chinese customs and characteristics: but they are not of Chinese origin as some have asserted.[3]

[1] Bampfylde and Baring-Gould, *History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajas.*

[2] Owen Rutter, *History of British North Borneo.*

[3] Owen Rutter, *History of British North Borneo.*

146. The Dusun and Murut are a simple, attractive people—as indeed are so many jungle folk. They are Animists, worshipping and fearing the more or less hostile spirits of mountains, rocks and trees, and of their own ancestors. The spirits of the Dusun dead, if properly at rest, find their abode on the serene peaks of Mt. Kinabalu; and those of the Murut on the uplands of Mulundayoh and Antulai. These superstitious people have great faith in omens, particularly ill-omens, as the crossing of one's path by a snake, scorpion, centipede or mouse-deer: or hearing the calls of certain birds. If such are seen or heard, a journey, a raid, a marriage, or any other enterprise is abandoned. One of their most interesting superstitions, which seems to be peculiar to Borneo, is their veneration of certain porcelain jars of Chinese origin. These divine jars are of various grades of sanctity, the most sacred kind numbering not more than thirty. They are heirlooms of antiquity, in which the people hold part ownership. There is a regular ritual for their worship, an important item being a gorgeous drunk. "Muruts," says Owen Rutter in his delightful book on British North Borneo, "recognise three distinct stages in drunkenness—*Magauk* being 'drunk': *Magauk Kepioh* 'blotto': and *Magauk ke-pi-pi-oh* 'blind to the world.'"

147. "The Muruts come nearer the popular con-

ception of the ' Wild Man ' than any other native of North Borneo. They number about 28,500, and are more or less naked except for a loin-cloth—which, however, is often 50 feet long. Formerly they wore beaten bark. Lowland Murut build comparatively small houses, but in the hills they still have their communal buildings, often 200 feet long, and for choice built on some knife-edged hill for protection from attack. These people are frightfully dirty, and suffer from ulcers, sore eyes and skin diseases. There is much blindness amongst them. Infant mortality is high. The women are pretty while young, but age quickly into repulsive old hags. Venereal diseases, introduced by Dayak and Arab traders, have spread disastrously. . . . Notwithstanding his little idiosyncrasies, the up-country Murut is perhaps the most likeable native of North Borneo, where it may be said that the farther one goes from civilization the pleasanter are the people met. It is doubtful if any native of any country in the world is so easy to get on with as the Murut in his normal surroundings, though admittedly he is not such an asset to the country as the more prosperous Dusun, nor is he so encouraging from the administrative point of view. He is a primitive animal, hardly touched by the outside world. He is hospitable, good-humoured and honest : so honest that theft is almost unknown,

except the occasional theft of some one else's wife."

A more detailed account of the Dusun and Murut will be found in my *Kinabalu ; the Haunted Mountain of Borneo.*

. . . . . .

148. The Proto Malays whom we have passed in review seem to bear the same relationship to the Malays proper as Tibeto-Burman Hill Tribes in Burma do to the Burmese. We might have called those Hill Tribes 'Proto-Burmans' had we not already managed to arrange them more or less convincingly in regular ethnological groups.[1] It is between Malays and Burmese, and between Proto Malays and the various Hill Races of Burma, Siam and Indo-China (Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer, or Tai-Chinese) that some definite connection is sought to link up the ethnology of the Archipelago with that of the Continent. There is so much in common between the two, and yet we are forced to admit that so far the connections are superficial. We cannot yet claim to have established anything further than that all are of Mongolian stock.

149. The reader, if he happens to be conversant with Burma, will have noticed in the above descrip-

[1] See my *Races of Burma.*

tions of various Proto Malays much that might have been written almost in the same words about certain races of Burma. A similarity between the Murut of Borneo, the Abors of Assam, and the aborigines of Formosa has been noted by Hose and McDougal. The long communal houses, the wasteful methods of cultivation, the rice wine of Borneo, are all repeated on the Burmese border. The Murut, and the Chin Bok of Burma, wear the same bamboo garters, teeth necklaces and (amongst their all too scanty apparel) a sort of hanging mat to sit upon. The Animism of the Dusun, with its spirits of trees and rocks, and its house-altars, resembles that of the Kachins. Dusun dead go to Mt. Kinabalu, and those of the Murut to the peaks of Mulundayoh and Antulai, just as the souls of the Kachins return to their ancient home on the mystic uplands of Majoi Shingra Bum, and those of Sema, Lhota and Ao Nagas go to Wokha Hill that rises up conspicuously out of their country. The Nagas, like the Dusun, point to mysterious roads by which the spirits ascend. Both Dusun and Kachin have the same sort of character, the same superstitions, the same omens, the same curious beliefs in the sanctity of stone implements. The Niassai of Sumatra share with the Kaw of the Mekong a horror at the birth of twins. The head-hunting of the Dayaks and that of the Wa in the Shan States and of the Sangtam Nagas

in Assam have, to some extent, the same features. A single comparison between the legends of Burma and Borneo will suffice to establish a relationship. I quote in parallel columns from my own *Burmese Loneliness* (p. 116) and from Shelford's *Naturalist in Borneo* (p. 64):—

BURMA

There was friendship between *Hpoot* the Guana, and *Badat* the Edible Lizard, and they decided to tattoo each other. *Badat* was done first, and has become a remarkably pretty lizard. When he had been thus transformed, he threw a handful of ash over the Guana, and ran away.

BORNEO

Once upon a time the Cuckoo and Argus Pheasant agreed to disguise themselves with tattoo marks as a protection against their enemies. The Cuckoo painted the Pheasant in a very effective way as its plumage shows to this day. But the Pheasant was lazy, and instead of tattooing the Cuckoo carefully, he merely threw the paint over him and ran away. To this base treatment the Cuckoo owes its peculiar colouring.

And then, not only do Malays closely resemble Burmese in appearance, but they have similar characters, the same charm and dignity, the same cruelty, inconsistence, recklessness, thriftlessness and passion, the same cleverness in games, the same genius for holidays, the same repugnance for a job of work. Both Javanese and Malays share with the Burmese a most remarkable sense for the points of the compass. A Burman would naturally tell you to put a thing on

the ' North West table.' The ordinary bearings of a Malay are East, West, Up-stream and Down-stream. But, after all, these points of resemblance, and very many others, are superficial. They suggest, but they do not establish anything scientifically to connect these far-spread races of Indo-China and Malaya. Yet one feels that a link must be there. Not only are there calm seas that have been navigated for centuries, but there is actually land communication between Burma and the Malay Peninsula by an isthmus that can offer no obstacles to forest dwellers. Indeed, Shans have reached the Isthmus of Kra; and it may be predicted that one day Karens, who have already reached Mergui, will appear in the Peninsula, for amongst many Burmese races (Karen, Kachin, Chin, Lolo and others) there is an overmastering instinct that has led them down south from their ancient homes, and that leads them south in hundreds still to-day. We have already noticed that there were once Mon-Khmers all down the Malay Peninsula. There seem, in fact, to be no reasons at all why the northern races of Burma and Indo-China should not have found their way south into those regions where the present Malay and Proto Malay inhabitants resemble them at so many points. And it seems that there were, in fact, such movements, but that they took place sufficiently long ago to have admitted of

great variations of speech. That Malayan languages could possibly be related to monosyllabic Mongolian languages seems, on the face of it, unlikely: but the research of Professor Schmidt has now established such a connection which will lead most certainly to an advance in our knowledge of ethnological distributions.

150. The analysis of Schmidt's Austro-Nesian language Group is a subject of very great complexity that Blagden has explained in Vol. 53 of the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* (Straits Branch). Schmidt's important theory is based on the earlier conclusions of Kahn that there is a common element running through the languages of what he called the Austro-Asiatic Group, but that it would be rash to place them in one family. He started with an examination of the Sakai and Semang dialects of the Malay Peninsula, and of their relation to the most ancient of the South Indo-Chinese languages. In 1905 he produced two more works, of which the earliest laid down for the first time the main lines of comparative phonology of the Mon-Khmer, Stieng and Bahnar languages. The second showed that Khasi (a language of Assam) was distantly related to the Mon-Khmer Group. In this work also he established (what is of great interest to us in Burma) the fact that Palaung, Wa and Riang are related, and constitute a group standing midway

between Khasi and the Mon-Khmer family. In a still later work he brought in the Nicobar dialects. All these languages (except the Nicobar ones) are built up from monosyllabic roots to which are often added one or more prefixes or infixes. He now showed that the Nicobar dialects, which are apparently polysyllabic, are, in fact, merely built up like the others from monosyllabic roots. But in this case he found also *suffixes* used in the structure of words—and this became material evidence for including the Munda languages of India. All these he includes in his Austro-Asiatic Group. Something of this kind had been tentatively put forward before, but the evidence collected by Schmidt invests the theory with extreme probability.

151. He now advanced a final step by connecting the Austro-Asiatic Group with the great Malayo-Polynesian family (the languages of Malay, Polynesia and Melanesia, excluding Papuan). If this theory can be proved, then the Talaing (Mon), Sakai and Malay languages would be related, though very distantly, for we have noted that many Mon words in Sakai are merely borrowed. His general line of argument seems to be that Malayo-Polynesian languages in their present state are commonly made up of stem words which are of two syllables. His research shows that in many cases these stem words

are constructed from earlier monosyllables. As in the case of the Austro-Asiatic Group, this has been done usually by a prefix, so that, as a rule, in Malayo-Polynesian words it is the last syllable that represents the original root. His view is that the Malayo-Polynesian roots were originally *all monosyllabic*, and that the modern stem-words of two syllables have been formed by the addition of 'formative elements.' These two great families—Austro-Asiatic and Malayo-Polynesian—he therefore groups together under the title of Austro-Nesian.

152. If the good Professor says that all this is so, we suppose it must be—but it is very mixed.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLIEST AUTHENTIC HISTORY

The Malays

A.D. 778–1377

153. The modern Malay is not to be considered as necessarily descended from existing Proto-Malays, for the race is now widely dispersed throughout the Archipelago, and much mixed. But in spite of this, it presents considerable uniformity, and is the predominant race in Indo-Malaya. Wallace[1] classifies the Malays under four great, and a few minor heads—of whom the minor ones are those we have treated already as Proto Malays. The four main divisions he considers are: (1) The Malays proper who inhabit the Malay Peninsula, and the coastal regions of Sumatra and Borneo: (2) the Javanese of Java, Madura, Bali and parts of Lombok and Sumatra: (3) the Bugis of Celebes: and (4) the Tagalas of the Philippines.

154. Of the Malay he writes:—

"In character he is impassive. He exhibits a reserve, diffidence, and even bashfulness, which is in some degree attractive, and leads observers to think that the ferocious and bloodthirsty qualities imputed to the race are grossly exaggerated. He is not demonstrative. His feelings of surprise, admiration,

[1] Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, Volume II, page 439.

(F. W. Major)

A MALAY VILLAGE

Off the beaten track the Malays still live as did their forefathers. In remote parts of the *Ulu* they have hardly been touched by the march of civilization.

or fear, are never openly manifested, and are probably not strongly felt. He is slow and deliberate in speech. High-class Malays are exceedingly polite, and have all the quiet ease and dignity of well-bred Europeans. Yet all this is compatible with a reckless cruelty and contempt for human life, which is the dark side of their character."

155. The Malays of Menangkabau in Sumatra are described as fanatical. Cabaton—who, as we have noted, may be slightly biassed in Sumatran affairs—says that they are defiant, avaricious, born intriguers, servile to superiors, harsh to inferiors, and inhospitable. But, he adds, they are good workers, traders and farmers. They have long been isolated in the interior and have developed independently. "Marriage is exogamic and retains the matriarchal form. The husband cultivates the soil for the wife, who owns it as she owns her children: and the property of the father passes to the children of his sister, and not to those of his wife or brother."

156. The Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese were probably one race, but they have evolved in slightly different directions. The Javanese are the most highly civilized, and are of slighter and more graceful build than the others, but possess thoroughly Malay characteristics—that is to say, they are charming, extravagant, thriftless and not too energetic. Their

soil, however, is volcanic, extremely rich and moderately sloped, so that they have been able to develop, without much trouble, a marvellous system of agriculture. The population of Java is over 30 millions—as compared with 3 millions in Sumatra, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in Borneo and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in the Peninsula, all of which are far larger areas than fertile and prosperous Java.

. . . . . .

157. The dawn of authentic history for the Malays has been recently pushed back many centuries by the research of the French and Dutch *savants* Coedes and Krom, and reveals two Malay kingdoms—one comparatively strong called Pelambang in Sumatra which had been flourishing for some time before A.D. 778: the other fairly weak in Java.

158. The Sumatran kingdom of Pelambang was visited in A.D. 671 by the Chinese pilgrim I Tsing on his way to India. He calls the island Fo-she. Pelambang had several colonies, of which one was at Singapore and controlled the trade of the Straits. Pelambang was a Hindu-Buddhist state, and through its agency Mahayana Buddhism was introduced also into Java. On the Peninsula it had other colonies in the far north, and probably the first Malay settlements on the mainland were trading stations at Kedah in the seventh and eighth centuries.

159. The Peninsula, of which the first inhabitants about whom we know anything were Negritos (Semang), was, by this time, occupied by Mon-Khmer, a people of the Talaing-Cambodian type. But it must be remembered that, though we now associate Mon-Khmers with Siam and the adjacent countries, they have no relationship to the modern Siamese who only arrived in their present home during the thirteenth century. It should perhaps be explained that the present Talaings of Burma call themselves *Mon*, and that the ancient Cambodians were called *Khmer*. Hence the name of *Mon-Khmer* given to this race group.[1] At the period we are considering, a people of this type predominated in Siam and the Malay Peninsula, and they were a comparatively civilized race whose cousins in Cambodia built the great Hindu temples of Angkor. They spread to Burma, where, as we have said, they are now represented by the modern Talaings, and it was quite a toss up whether Burma was to be Mon or Burmese until the victories of the latter under Alaungpra at Pegu as recently as A.D. 1757. Such, then, were the Mon-Khmers who (with the exception of primitive and savage Negritos, and later of the Sakai) were the only inhabitants of the Peninsula at the time that Sumatran Malays began to establish their colony at

[1] Enriquez, *Races of Burma*, Section 112.

Kedah. And Mon-Khmers had then been there a very long time, for in the records of the Liang Dynasty (A.D. 502 – 665) it is mentioned that Langgasu (thought to be Kedah) had been established four hundred years, and was a Buddhist country.[1] There is evidence, too, of an ancient Buddhism in inscriptions both in Kedah and Province Wellesley,[2] and in a statue of Buddha found at Tanjong Rambutan in a mine 60 feet below the surface. These may have been the beginnings of Buddhist communities which are believed to have occupied the north of the Peninsula, while the south remained uncivilized, and perhaps almost uninhabited. Unfortunately, the archæological remains are scanty, but it seems that Mon-Khmer influence lasted from the fifth century until a thousand years ago. Except in the dialect and traditions of certain primitive and contemporary races like the Sakai, there remains no other trace of this ancient connection with Indo-China.

160. Such were the conditions in the Peninsula. In Java, Hinduism had been introduced in about the first century of our era, and in the fifth century Buddhism took root. This Hindu-Buddhist civilization expressed itself artistically in the great temples of

[1] Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects.*

[2] Winstedt, 'History of Kedah,' *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* (Straits Branch), Vol. 81 (1920).

Brambanan and Boro Bodeo, and left a deep and lasting impression on the history, literature and society of Java.

161. The history of Java is largely legendary—a distracting story of Princes, their marriages, wars and crimes, punctuated at intervals by more interesting references to volcanic explosions. Confusion is accentuated by the efforts of native writers to establish a foundation for Javan culture on the Mahabarat and other Indian epics—which was a little failing of Burmese historians also. But, on the other hand, there is a tendency on the part of later Mohammedan writers to slur over the important Hindu-Buddhist era, so that such impressive monuments as Boro Bodeo do not play as conspicuous a part in recorded history as one would expect. These great temples probably date from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., and are evidence of the high culture of that time.

162. In the legendary history of Java the figure of Prince Paji stands out with some clarity playing the heroic part that Kyanzittha did in Burma. He is believed to have bestowed upon the Malays that questionable blessing, the Kris: and his adventures are still the theme of romantic literature and drama. He is known to have visited the island of Bali, and it appears that during this period some sort of Govern-

ment was established in other parts of the Archipelago. There was, however, a swift degeneration after his day, though a successor, Raden Tanduran, founded a capital at Majapahit that was destined to be glorious. The Javanese kingdom was, however, still insignificant; while the Sumatran State of Pelambang was reaching the height of its power towards the middle of the thirteenth century. Its colony at Singapore, then called Tumasik, was founded in about 1280. Chinese records refer to what may have been a clash in some part of the Peninsula between Malays and Siamese in the year 1295, by which time the modern Siamese had arrived in the Valley of the Menam: and from the writings of the Chinese historian Chao Ju Kua it is known that the Sumatran kingdom also had possessions in Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan, Lower Siam and even in Ceylon.[1] The Malays of Pelambang were essentially a maritime nation.

163. Nor were they the only people on the sea, though they met with no serious rivalry. In the eleventh century the coasts of Kedah and Tenasserim were colonized for a time by Indian Chulias from the Coromandel: Kublai Khan invaded Borneo in 1292: and by this time the Arabs had developed a very considerable trade between Venice and the ports of

[1] Blagden, *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* (Straits Branch), Volume 81 (1920).

Southern India, Kedah, Java and Sumatra. Even Japanese junks made an occasional appearance in these waters. "In 1570 a Japanese vessel was at Manila: another in 1589 visited Borneo, and before the advent of the Portuguese they had reached Malacca."[1] Until the Shoguns closed all intercourse with the outer world, Japanese mercenary soldiers were employed from Amboyna to Jakatra and Arakan. But the sea supremacy of the Arabs brought the most important influences to bear on the Malays. It placed them for the first time in contact with the West, where the Mediterranean was still the centre of the civilized world: and Arabia, facing as it does both the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, was very favourably situated for handling the trade of Europe and Asia. The Arabs effected no conquest; but the Malay Archipelago, then still Hindu and Buddhist, received the seed of Islam, which later, and especially in Java, was spread by war and propaganda till the whole Malay race was converted, with the exception of small minorities in certain islands—Bali and Lombok—that are Buddhist to this day. At first, however, Islam was not militant.

164. Then, in A.D. 1377, the Javan kingdom of Majapahit, whose slow consolidation we have noted, suddenly made war on the now venerable State of

[1] *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome 23, 1923.

Pelambang and destroyed it together with its colony at Tumasik (Singapore).

165. The circumstances of this destruction of the first settlement at Singapore are obscure. There appear to have been misgovernment and intrigue unusually outrageous even for a Malay Court. Wilkinson in his admirable ' Malay Papers ' says that:—

" More than one annalist seems to suggest the Nemesis that awaits upon deeds of oppression. In the end the Javanese came: the city was destroyed. Blood flowed like water, and the plain of Singapore is red to this day. A curse rested on the place: and more than four centuries later Colonel Farquhar (who was left there by Sir Stamford Raffles as first Resident) found that the people of the new settlement dared not ascend Fort Canning Hill for fear of the ghosts of forgotten kings and queens. To this day it is believed that, on account of those dreadful deeds, rice —the staple food—will not grow on that stricken ground."

CHAPTER IX

THE RISE OF MALACCA

A.D. 1377–1509

166. A direct result of the destruction of Tumasik was the rapid development of Malacca. There have been several Malaccas, and the oldest of all was an insignificant village of the Orang Laut that now, in the middle of the fourteenth century, escaped the attention of the destroying Javanese, and became the refuge of fugitives from Singapore and Pelambang in the south, from Mohammedan Pasai, and from the Buddhist settlements in the north. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the fishing village of the aborigines had become a cosmopolitan trading centre. "Alone among Malayan townships," says Wilkinson in his beautifully worded descriptions of this period, "Malacca is invested with romance. Her buildings are historic. Her centuries are few, but full of achievement; and there is no local glory in which she does not share. By her Portuguese conquerors she was named *La Famosa*—'The Renowned.'"

167. After a time local Chiefs arose with the title of Permaisura. "As all Malay tradition agrees in assigning the name of Muhammad Shah to the first Moslem ruler of Malacca, we may assume this to have been the name and title the Permaisura adopted."

168. His struggles to obtain recognition, his tactful visit to the Emperor of China, his conversion to Islam, and the introduction of the ceremonial and etiquette of a Malay Court, are evidence of the astuteness of Muhammad Shah, from whom some of the ruling Chiefs to-day claim their descent. He died in A.D. 1414 and was succeeded by Iskandar Shah, the trader-chief known to the Portuguese as Xaquendarsa, and referred to in the Chinese records as Mukansautirsha. But after the time of his son the simplicity of this trading community at Malacca passed away. The place had become an important centre to which Chinese junks resorted, and colonies of strangers settled at the port. The Javanese and Burmese had their own quarters; and the hill, on which formerly there had been store-houses, became the abode of the Sultan and the Malay nobles who formed the ruling class of the town. The toll levied on trade enabled the ruler to send out armed bands to enforce his authority. So, under Mudzafar Shah, was created a new Malacca, the golden-age of Malay tradition, when the Sultan was master of Pahang, Kampar, Siak and Indragiri. This growing State reached its zenith under the next king Mansur Shah; but even in his time a decline set in: for Malacca had become a city of iniquity, the resort of adventurers and swash-bucklers, where the weaker citizens could only exist

under the protection of a patron by paying him blackmail, and where the Sultans, "born in wealth and luxury, were gloomy, capricious and jaded tyrants." Such was Mahmud Shah, the last of them. He had an able 'Bandahara' or Minister, but him he murdered, that he might possess himself of the Minister's already married daughter: and this too when Malacca sorely needed guidance. For Nemesis was driving towards her across the seas.

169. In the meantime the new religion was spreading. The earliest known record of it on the Peninsula is a Mohammedan inscription dated A.D. 1303 which has been recently discovered in Trengganu.[1] A century and a half later in Java, the once splendid kingdom of Majapahit had been swept away by the rising tide of militant Islam, which had assumed the strong offensive towards the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Hindu-Buddhist Princes of Majapahit had struggled desperately against it, but had succumbed—the fugitives taking refuge in the small islands of Bali and Lombok, which, as we have mentioned, are Hindu and Buddhist still. So all Java became Mohammedan, as it had previously become Brahmin and Buddhist—"without extreme fervour, but with conviction."[2] According to the

[1] Humphrey, *Annual Report*, Trengganu, 1924.
[2] Cabaton.

Achinese records, Kedah embraced Islam in 1474.[1]

170. Such was the state of Malayan affairs when suddenly, unexpectedly, like a bolt from the blue, on the 1st August, 1509, a Portuguese fleet made its appearance. Admiral Diogo Lopez de Sequeira dropped anchor off Malacca.

[1] Winstedt, 'History of Kedah,' *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* (Straits Branch), Vol. 81 (1920).

CHAPTER X

THE PORTUGUESE

A.D. 1509–1577

171. While Mahmud Shah was discovering the charms of his Minister's married daughter, the seed had been sown for one of the world's major revolutions: for in 1498 Vasco da Gama had found a way round the Cape into the Indian Ocean. For centuries, communication between Europe and Asia had been interrupted by the Mohammedan wedge; but now a way had been found round it for the passage of trade and the interchange of ideas. Within a decade of da Gama's achievement he was followed by an adventurous band—d'Albuquerque, d'Almeida and Tristan da Cunha. Almeida set sail with 15,000 troops from Lisbon in 1505: and in 1509 d'Albuquerque succeeded him as second Viceroy in India. It is, however, fair to add that the Portuguese came to the East primarily as traders and missionaries, without any intention of acquiring territory, till Mohammedan hostility was roused in defence of trade and resulted in conflicts and the erection of fortresses to protect the new settlements. Nor was hostility long in showing itself, for even at da Gama's first landing at Calicut the astonished natives demanded almost in so many words—what the devil he was doing there.

172. The Portuguese 'Empire' in the East was soon divided into two Viceroyalties, one stretching from Mozambique to Diu, and the other from Diu to Comorin, and resulting in the speedy destruction of Arab sea power. In less than five years from the arrival of Vasco da Gama, Arab ships engaged in Eastern trade returned to Venice—empty! and within a decade the Arab fleets had been destroyed both off Arabia and Malacca.

173. Once established in India, the Portuguese immediately felt the need for a port of call on the way to China, and hence it was that Sequeira suddenly cast his anchor in Malacca Bay that 1st of August, 1509, just at the critical moment of Mahmud Shah's love affairs.

174. The incident has been admirably treated by Mr. Wilkinson in his *Papers on Malay Subjects*. He says:—

"In an age accustomed to the comfort of modern sea-travel it is hard to convey more than a faint idea of the hard lot of those early navigators: the leaky ships, the stifling cabins, the stale, unpalatable food, the putrid water, the dirt, the crowding, the scurvy, the danger of storms, the discomfort of calms, and the anxiety of approach to an uncharted and inhospitable coast. Yet, if we are to take the measure of men like d'Almeida and d'Albuquerque, we must try

to realize the task before them. Da Gama, like Columbus, was a simple sailor who staked his life upon his skill in navigation and upon the faith that was in him. The first Viceroys, however, were men of another type, who dreamed dreams and saw visions of empire in the seemingly hopeless plan of pitting the frail ships of Portugal against the untameable vastness of the Indian Ocean. D'Almeida was the apostle of sea-power. He saw that with their apparent weakness his ships had at their mercy the commerce of whole continents: and he preached the doctrine of a supreme navy. D'Albuquerque, on the other hand, was a soldier who believed that sea-power was not sufficient. He mocked the theory of an eastern empire that owned no ports and docks. He was the apostle of the naval base, sea-power resting on the shore. Moreover, a man of ancient lineage, cousin of a Spanish King, he refused to serve under d'Almeida. Hence the division into two Viceroyalties. Hence also the emulation that led Sequeira, a smaller man, to follow in the wake of the great Viceroys."

He left the Tagus in April, 1508; sailed to Cochin and borrowed a ship from the Portuguese fleet there; and so, as we have seen, arrived at Malacca in 1509.

175. A boat put off from the shore to enquire in the Bandahara's name who Sequeira was and what he wanted. Sequeira had brought a letter from King

Emmanuel, and asked permission to present it along with the gifts that went with such epistles. There was some hesitation amongst the Malays, but the Bandahara advocated a friendly, cautious policy, and eventually the request was granted, and an officer went ashore to have audience with the Sultan. This officer was a jovial sailor, ignorant of Malay etiquette, and his hilarity gave considerable offence. Meanwhile the Indian merchant community knew exactly what trade rivalry meant, and, together with hotheads amongst the Malays, were for driving the intruders away. In this state of tension, the accidental firing of a gun by the fleet precipitated hostilities. Malay visitors on the ships jumped overboard: and Portuguese sailors on shore were seized. Sequeira seems to have been unprepared. He was too weak to attack, the monsoon was advancing, and eventually he had to sail away with tarnished fame, leaving several of his men with the Malays.[1]

176. It was to avenge this disgrace that d'Albuquerque himself appeared before Malacca in 1511 with the available army and navy of Portuguese India —19 ships, 800 European troops and 600 Sepoys. The Sultan meanwhile had forgotten all about the Portuguese, and in the furtherance of his criminal intrigue had executed his wise and cautious Minister.

[1] Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects.*

But now panic seized him when he beheld this formidable armament lying before his palace. At first he refused to give up his hostages, but relented after a few shots had been fired into the town. The release of the prisoners relieved Albuquerque from the fear of reprisals, and also furnished him with guides who knew the geography of the town and the language of the people. He now prepared to attack: but owing to the shallowness of the water, the disembarkation could not be covered by his guns, and a floating battery he constructed was only partially successful. A landing was therefore only effected with considerable loss, the troops being driven back by a Malay counter-attack from the town. A second attempt on the following day was hardly more successful; but there was heavy fighting, and apparently the Malays had had enough of it, for the third landing was unopposed. The foreign merchants—Indian, Burmese and Javanese—made their peace, while the Malays fled to new positions from which eventually they were driven.

177. "But for the foreign trading element," says Wilkinson, "the capture of Malacca would have been an act of useless folly. As it was, the victory was valuable. It substituted a Portuguese for a Malay ruling class without destroying the trade-tradition of the place, and it gave the Portuguese a naval base, a

trading centre, and a citadel which they could easily hold against any attacks the Malays might organize."

178. This last was a consideration of importance, since the Portuguese could only afford to leave a very small force to guard their new colony, which was several times besieged, and even threatened by a Javanese fleet at the instigation of the Malays. Later, Malacca was made into a fortress of great solidity, and became the stronghold of the Portuguese for trade all over the Archipelago, fulfilling the same rôle that afterwards Batavia did for the Dutch. In 1511, the year in which Malacca was captured, the Portuguese also visited Canton, and six years later established trade relations with the Chinese, by whom they were kindly treated until the outrages and piracy of their sailors led to their expulsion to Macao.

179. In 1521 a disturbing event occurred. Just as the Portuguese fleet surprised the Malays in 1511, so, exactly ten years later, were the Portuguese themselves unpleasantly disturbed by the appearance in the Archipelago of a Spanish fleet that had not sailed from the West—but from the *East*! Magellan had, in fact, circumnavigated the World and reached the Philippines.

180. The visit of Magellan's ships to Brunei in Borneo in 1521 is described by Pigafetta, the historian of that wonderful voyage. Magellan himself

had been killed. The squadron was hospitably entertained by the Sultan of Brunei. Pigafetta speaks of wealth, and culture, and a large population, and a Court with all the embellishments of silk, pearls, cannon and retainers. He describes, in fact, a state of prosperity in Borneo which was soon to pass away. Unfortunately for them, the Spaniards gave offence here, as they had done in the Philippines. They claim to have been threatened by treachery, and as a precaution seized some of the boats, cargoes and women of their hosts. With these they set sail and began a privateering cruise, plundering small ships, and holding their passengers—one of whom was the Malay Governor of Palawan—for ransom. "It is a bitter fact," says Owen Rutter, "that Europeans should have been the pioneers of that piracy and rapacity which afterwards became so characteristic of the Malayan seas."

181. Luckily for the Portuguese, Spain was far too busy looting Mexico and Peru to bother about the Philippines, of which she did not take possession until 1564. Even then, her interests were more or less limited to the eastern end of the Archipelago. So there was no immediate rivalry for Portugal, who continued her colonial enterprise undisturbed. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Indian trade with Lisbon had assumed immense proportions.

182. This shifting of trade from its ancient routes produced very serious consequences in Europe. Venice, which had prospered for four centuries on the manipulation of Eastern commerce, sank into insignificance: Egypt and Turkey lost half their revenues: and the German 'Free Cities' were deprived of the profits they had enjoyed from the distribution of Oriental merchandise to the rest of Europe. In the meantime convoys of 250 Portuguese vessels were frequently leaving Goa for Lisbon.

CHAPTER XI

THE SPANIARDS

A.D. 1578–1580

183. In the early days of our era the Mediterranean was the centre of the known World. The sea at first afforded protection to the budding civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece; but later men ventured out upon the waters, and the sea was then changed from a barrier to a road which was used in turn by Greeks, Phœnicians, Romans and Moors. In that small community of nations anything that was not on the Mediterranean was outside the World altogether: but when men began to go out on to the great unknown Ocean new roads were found. The situation changed, and a glance at the map will show how natural it was that the nations acquired sea supremacy in the order they did—Portugal, Spain, Holland, France and England. Thrust as they are out into the Atlantic, Portugal and Spain gained the first control of the Oceans with very little opposition. And to these two the Pope, by a special Bull in 1493, allotted the whole New World—the East to Portugal, the West to Spain.

184. The Spaniards only come into the background of the picture in Malayan history. We have seen how Magellan's fleet reached the Philippines and Borneo in 1521, how the Spaniards neglected the

Philippines till 1565 without troubling the Portuguese very much. Then in 1578 Spain played an important part off the Malayan stage, firstly by seizing Portugal itself, and secondly by losing her grip on the Netherlands in that same year; so that while the Portuguese Colonial Empire was being neglected under Spanish administration, the Dutch were let loose to prey upon it. For Portugal, now a part of Spain, became fair game for all the enemies created for Spain by the policy of Philip II. For sixty years Portugal, and the wreck of her colonial enterprises, remained a Spanish possession, her ships and commerce exposed to plunder and ultimate ruin.

CHAPTER XII

THE DUTCH

A.D. 1581–1802

185. In 1578, Holland, as we have seen, threw off Spanish control. A nation of born sailors, the Dutch now embarked upon the spoliation of Spanish and Portuguese possessions; and being Protestants they respected Papal 'Bulls' not at all. Within half a century they had won the sea, and possessed themselves of New Amsterdam (New York), Brazil, Guiana, the Cape, Mauritius, Ceylon and the East Indies, and became the carriers of Europe, proudly styling themselves 'Wagoners of the Sea.'

186. Thus as the star of Portugal waned that of Holland waxed, and in the Archipelago the Dutch soon acquired all that Portugal could no longer hold. Portugal recovered her national independence in 1640, but by then it was far too late to retrieve her Oriental Possessions.

187. The first enterprises of the Dutch were financially extremely successful. They were lucky in finding as a guide one of their own countrymen, the captain of a Portuguese ship, who had been captured by Moors, and whom the merchants of Amsterdam ransomed—for it must be remembered that the earliest discoveries were not made public, but, on the con-

trary, were kept as secret as possible. Profiting by the weakened power of the Portuguese, and the corruption and arrogance that had made enemies for Portugal amongst the natives, the Dutch soon became masters of the Eastern trade. Companies for mercantile adventure were organized, and in 1602 were consolidated under the title of "Netherland and East Indian Company," which almost immediately paid a dividend of 60 per cent.

188. Unfortunately for themselves, the Dutch embarked upon the same disastrous policy of selfish monopoly as had their predecessors. Modern Dutch methods are said to be a model for Colonial administration, and probably the Dutch would be the first now to admit the error of their early system. At any rate, the literature relating to this period is so impregnated with dislike for them that it must be given due consideration.

"They established themselves wherever the best soil for spices was to be found, and destroyed all the spice trees elsewhere, in order to keep their rivals out of the field, and so enhance the price of their own produce. On these lines they cultivated the clove in Amboyna and the nutmeg in the Banda Islands."

189. In passing, it is curious to note how the fate of Europe was influenced by a growing taste for spices, indicating as it did a general demand for better

diet. It was for the spice trade more than anything that the powers rivalled each other so disastrously in the East.

" It was the search for spices which led to the circumnavigation of the world, the discovery of the Magellan Straits, as well as the more splendid achievements of Columbus and Vasco da Gama—all of them the most striking events in the history of mankind."

It must not be imagined that the Portuguese had effected all they did without support. Our ancestors had hitherto eaten insipid food, only the rich being able to afford costly condiments which came from the Moluccas, the fabled " Spice Islands " of the unknown East. These luxuries travelled in small boats and with many transhipments, sometimes by the Shat-el-Arab and the Syrian ports, sometimes via Jedda and across to Alexandria, paying in either case intolerable impositions to Mameluke Sultans and others. Therefore when a sea route had been discovered, the Portuguese were encouraged with financial help, and much of their profits went to Italian, German and Netherland financiers.

190. The dynasty reigning in Java when the Dutch first visited the island was founded by the hero Senapati. Affairs, however, had fallen into sad disorder; and the Dutch, availing themselves of the prevailing intrigues and convulsions, established themselves at

Jakatra. Here they soon widened their influence by taking sides in Malay feuds until all the real power was in their own hands. The foundation of Batavia on the ruins of ancient Jakatra was the turning-point from which Dutch prestige in the Archipelago grew, and that of the British waned. The Dutch Governor-General, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, ruthless as he was then and later in the bloody affair of Amboyna, was a man of energy, purpose and loyalty to his cause. Having jockeyed the Javanese out of Jakatra, he started to build a fort there, when a superior British fleet appeared before it. The Dutch and British cruised round each other for two days; and then Coen vanished. Instead of following him, the British were lured to the incomplete fort. And their councils were divided. The Dutch garrison, aware that Coen would soon return in force, preferred to surrender the fort temporarily to the English rather than to restore it to the Javanese. The British, on the other hand, sought alliance with the natives, who preferred that the fort should remain with the Dutch. In the political tangle that ensued the garrison held out till the Dutch fleet returned in overwhelming force. It makes sorry reading for an Englishman. Coen then set to work deliberately to destroy old Jakatra, and to build a typically Dutch town in its place. His fleet blockaded all neighbouring ports and escorted their trade to the

new harbour, an altogether 'dirty business' in the eyes of British free traders.[1] A Dutch Governor-General was appointed in 1610, and the capital renamed Batavia in 1621. The internal affairs of the Malays reached a crisis in 1659, when horrible massacres were perpetrated by the apparently insane Sultan, Tegal Arum. "However, in deceit and intrigue," says Sir Stamford Raffles, "the Javanese met their match in the Dutch." The remark is typical of others by men so outstandingly fair-minded as Raffles and James Brooke, and it is no doubt justified: but we may suppose that Holland, if only for motives of humanity, was forced to intervene in Malay quarrels, as we ourselves were later obliged to interfere in Indian and Burmese affairs. Certain it is that by 1678 pirates from Celebes had established themselves strongly in Java, and were only expelled by the help of the Dutch. They also enabled the Javanese to suppress a Chinese revolt. Even at this early date they were controlling the foreign policy of Java; and by 1758 assumed the sovereignty of the island in all but name.

191. The Dutch first visited Borneo in 1598. In 1785 they acquired territory at Banjermasim by treaty with the Chief, and gradually extended their influence in that country also. In 1607 they began to trade

[1] Blackwood, *Jakatra*, Sept., 1925.

with Celebes, and in 1660 conquered and settled in Macassar. Celebes, however, only became prosperous much later (in 1822) when it was found that coffee grew well in the uplands of the interior.

192. Meanwhile, on the Malay Peninsula a new State had risen at Johore after the expulsion of the Malays from Malacca. The early vicissitudes of Johore were numerous. There were the inevitable internal dissensions: and the Portuguese from Malacca destroyed Johore in 1550 and again in 1587. But Johore persisted in coming to life, and in time afforded the Dutch a welcome opportunity to meddle. The Dutch navigator, Jacob van Heemskerek, visited the place in 1602 and found the Malays eager to destroy the Portuguese and ready to make treaties with anyone to that end. A treaty was signed, and a Dutch factory established. There was an engagement at sea in 1606 which definitely gave Holland control of the Straits, but Malacca was not taken: and since that was all the Malays cared about, and since the Portuguese had been more conciliatory of late, Johore sought an alliance with Malacca. But the Sultan's toying with rival Europeans was rudely disturbed in 1613 from an unexpected quarter, when our old friends the Achinese of Sumatra carried him off and destroyed Johore. The Sultan made his peace with them and promised to co-operate in an Achinese attack

on the Portuguese: but failing in this, he received another unwelcome visit from the fleet of Acheen. In 1634 the whole of Johore and Pahang was part of the Achinese kingdom. The Achinese power, however, was waning and the Malays soon broke away: and in 1639 the Dutch again made overtures to Johore. A combined sea and land attack on Malacca was planned, and the fortress was at last taken from the Portuguese on the 14th of January, 1641, after a siege lasting five months. It remained thenceforth a Dutch possession for nearly two centuries.

193. On the whole, the Dutch lived on fairly good terms with the Malays of Johore; but the Sultans of that State sank in drink and intrigue, and suffered all the adversities that befall such rulers. The story of Johore tails off unheroically in a string of genealogies, murders, abductions, flights and returns, that belong to biography rather than history. In Perak the Dutch were less successful. They imposed a monopoly on the export of tin from that country, but found in Perak a stubborn rebel to this policy. In 1651 their officers were murdered, and peace was not restored till 1655. In 1758 they had to build a fort which was garrisoned till 1787.

. . . . . .

194. In the meanwhile, England had been slow to

enter this field, or indeed to embark upon any Oriental adventures until interest was roused by the wreck off the coast of Devon of a Portuguese Indiaman whose cargo was found to be worth £150,000—at that period a fabulous sum. Sir Francis Drake, the first Englishman to visit the Malayan Archipelago, had cruised there between 1577 and 1580: and these events began seriously to turn men's minds to the possibilities of Eastern trade. On the last day of the sixteenth century (31st December, 1600) Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to the East India Company. This, it will be noted, was nearly two years previous to the consolidation of the Netherland and East India Company, which occurred in 1602: but British interest (unfortunately) was chiefly directed to India—that Land of Regrets—where there followed the long struggle with the French. In the Malay Archipelago the English had only a few little factories at Jakatra (Batavia) in Java, and in Banda, Amboyna and the Moluccas or Spice Islands.

These mysterious Spice Islands had ever haunted the imagination of early adventurers. No sooner had Albuquerque taken Malacca in 1511 than he sent a Portuguese expedition of three ships under Antonio d'Abreu to establish trade with the Moluccas. In this they were successful. The Portuguese were strong at sea. They could take towns and hold fort-

resses: but their tyrannical behaviour stirred up the resentment of the population to such an extent that Portuguese authority never extended beyond the range of their guns. In the Moluccas they eventually seized the person of the ruling Chief, and in his name declared a royal monopoly in cloves. Thus did they maintain themselves for many years, literally at the point of the sword. Spain also had claims in the Spice Islands, but these were bought off by the Portuguese for the sum of 360,000 ducats.

Unfortunately, there were other rivals besides the Spanish—notably the Dutch and English. Their attitude was curious. In Europe their relations were entirely friendly: in the East they were in league to drive out the Portuguese: yet so jealous were they of the Spice Islands that they could hardly be prevented from flying at each other. The friendly policy of the Home Governments alone prevented hostilities abroad: but with regard to the Spice Islands the Dutch had very clear intentions. They meant to have the trade, and they meant to prevent anyone else from meddling with it. And their position was strong. Not only had they ships and munitions on the spot, but in Europe their Company had the support of the Netherlands Government. The English East India Company, on the other hand, enjoyed the patronage only of the Crown, which it

supplied with money: and as time went on the authority of the Stuart Kings steadily declined in their desperate conflict with Parliament. Further, while the English produced in the Malay Archipelago no men of outstanding genius, the Dutch found in their fourth Governor, Jan Pieterzoon Coen, a really great man.

A conflict between the Dutch and English companies was inevitable, and it was naturally in the Spice Islands, about which all parties held such decided views, that the crisis arose. The Dutch had gained a footing there as early as 1599—that is to say, they traded, paid well and strove to incite the only too willing natives against the Portuguese. Later, when the Portuguese were gone, the Dutch fixed upon the Islands a yoke which, though less violent and scrupulously legal, was even more intolerable: and it was natural that the natives should see a possible deliverer in Sir Henry Middleton when he came to the Moluccas from Bantam in 1605 with the *Dragon* and *Ascension*. His arrival at Amboyna started a conflict which culminated eighteen years later in a horrible tragedy. However, Middleton was a broken reed. His fleet was weak, his crews were reduced by fever and dysentery, and he found the Dutch in the act of assaulting the Portuguese fort at Amboyna. The Dutch were still at war with Portugal, while the

English had lately made peace. Therefore, much as Middleton would have loved to share the Dutch victory, there was nothing he could do but go to Banda and Tidore and snatch spice cargoes while the Dutch were still busy. The natives were only too glad to defy the Dutch monopoly: and the Dutch even assert that Middleton sold munitions to the Portuguese. Having taken Amboyna, they hurried after Middleton, destroyed his Portuguese friends and severely frightened the natives. Nothing remained for the English ships but to sail away with their spices, leaving the Dutch masters of the Islands.

In Europe, the relations of the two Companies was being defined by a series of Treaties in 1613, 1615 and 1619, whereby it was arranged that the Dutch should have two-thirds of the Eastern trade, and the English one-third, and that "the charge of forts be maintained (jointly) by taxes and impositions to be levied upon the Merchandize." Unfortunately there was not the same spirit of compromise abroad, and in 1616 the East India Company sent Nathaniel Courthope to the small island of Pulo Room, close to Amboyna. The Dutch had omitted to take the island. Courthope landed, treated with the natives, ran up a flag and, being a man of dogged character, maintained himself almost single-handed till 1620. Both his ships deserted. The Dutch

blockaded him, though without pressing an attack which might create complications in Europe. They did, however, seize the relief ships sent to his aid in 1618, sailing the vessels before Courthope's eyes with the English flag trailed under the stern. Still the English in Bantam urged Courthope to remain, and still this brave and lonely Englishman kept his flag flying on Pulo Room. But in 1620, hearing of a native rising against the Dutch in Bantam, he passed over in a native boat to see what could be done. Achieving nothing, he returned: but his passage was barred by three Dutch vessels. Courthope fought an action to the bitter end. Then, when nothing remained to be done, he threw his arms overboard, leapt into the sea and sank.

Such were the events preceding the massacre of Amboyna, and such was the temper of the Dutch and English there. The English, availing themselves of the Treaty of 1619, established a trading house at Amboyna under the shadow of the Dutch fortress with its garrison of two hundred Dutch soldiers and three or four hundred levies. Thus the rivals continued peaceably for two years until disputes arose about the dual charge for buildings which it was complained was debited with unfair items by the Dutch. The quarrel became acute, and was referred to Jakatra, and finally to Europe.

In the meantime the Dutch found that the presence of a rival very seriously diminished their slender profits, and it appears that they deliberately hatched a murderous plot to rid themselves of the English in the clove-growing island of Amboyna. The facts are set forth in a booklet—now very scarce—called " Relation of the Unjust, Cruell, and Barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna." It is dated 1624, and purports to summarize the dispositions of six several English factors, examined upon their oaths in the Admiralty Court. The reader must form his own conclusions about the events that followed.

" About the eleventh of February, 1622, a Japoner soldier of the Dutch in their Castle of Amboyna, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the Sentinell (being a Hollander) and there, amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were in it. This Japoner aforesaid, was for his said conference with the Sentinell, apprehended upon suspicion of treason, and put to the Torture."

It seems that the Dutch Governor, Herman van Speult, now conceived the villainous idea of forcing the 'Japoner' by torture to implicate the English. This being accomplished, a similar confession, also under torture, was extracted from an English prisoner,

Abel Price, who happened to be in custody for a drunken affair.

"This fellow the Dutch took, and showed him some of the Japoners, whom they had first most grievously tortured, and told him, they had confessed the English to have beene of their confederacy, for the taking of the Castle; and that if he would not confesse the same, they would use him even as they had done these Japoners, and worse also. Having given him the torture, they soon made him confesse what ever they asked him. Forthwith, about nine of the Clock the same morning, they sent for Captaine Towerson (the English Agent), and the rest of the English that were in the Towne to come to speak with the Governor in the Castle. Being come to the Governor, hee told Captaine Towerson, that himselfe and others of his Nation were accused of conspiracie to surprise the Castle, and therefore, untill further triall, were to remain prisoners. . . . The same day the Governor sent to the two other factories in the same Island, to apprehend the rest of the English there."

"In the meantime the Governor and Fiscall went to work with the prisoners: And first they sent for John Beomont and Timothie Johnson, who being come into the Castle, Beomont was left with a guard in the Hall, and Johnson was taken into another roome. Where, by and by, Beomont heard him crie

out very pittifully; and then be quiet for a little while, and then loud againe. After taste of the torture, Abel Price, that first was examined and tortured (as is above remembred), was brought to confront and accuse him. But Johnson not yet confessing any thing, Price was quickly carried out, and Johnson brought again to the torture: where Beomont heard him sometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afresh. At last, after hee had beene about an houre in this second examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and so laid aside in a by-place of the Hall, with a souldier to watch him that he should speak to nobody."

Several confessions were thus forced. The nature of the torture by which facts were collected is too barbarous for words. One example will suffice—that of John Clerke:

" Then was John Clerke fetcht in, and a little while afterwards was heard (by the rest that were without in the Hall) to cry out amaine. They tortured him with water and with fire, by the space of two houres. The manner of his torture (as also of Johnson's & Tomson's) was as followeth: First they hoisted him up by the hands with a cord on a large dore, where they made him fast upon two staples of Iron fixt on both sides, at the top of the dore-posts, haling his

hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made flat, his feete hung some two foote from the ground; which also they stretcht asunder as far as they would retch, and so made them fast beneath unto the dore-trees on either side. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face so close, that little or no water could go by. That done, they poured the water softly upon his head until the cloth was full, up to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher; so that he could not draw breath, but he must withal suck in the water: which being still continued to be poured in softly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his nose, ears and eyes, and often as it were stifling and choking him, at length took away his breath, and brought him to a swoune or fainting. Then they tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit up the water. Being a little recovered, they triced him up againe, and poured in the water as before, eftsoones taking him downe as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or foure severall times with water, till his body was swolne twice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheeks like great bladders, and his eyes staring and strutting out beyond his fore-head: yet all this he bare, without confessing anie thing; inso-much as the Fiscall and tormentors reviled him, saying that he was a Divell, and no man, or surely was a witch, at least

had some charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare so much. Wherefore they cut off his haire verie short, as supposing he had some witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoisted him up againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottome of his feete, untill the fat dropt out the candles; yet then applyed they fresh lights unto him. They burnt him also under the elbowes, and in the palmes of the hands; likewise under the arm-pitts, untill his inwards might evidently be seene. At last, when they saw he could of himselfe make no handsome confession, then they ledde him along with questions. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment; hee answered, yea to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captaine Towerson had upon New Yeares day last, sworne all the English at Amboyana to be secret and assistant to a plot that he had projected, with the helpe of the Japoners, to surprise the Castle, and to put the Governor and the rest of the Dutch to death."

Sufficient has been said to suggest the nature of the trial, and the value of the confessions made therein.

"Thus have we all their Examinations, Tortures, and Confessions, being the work of eight daies, from the fifteenth to the three and twentith of February.

. . . The three and twentith of February all the prisoners, as well the English as the Japoners, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there solemnly condemned."

Three were acquitted: and others pardoned at the intercession of Dutch gentlemen. Three of the condemned wrote protestations of innocence on the leaves of books and Bibles in the hope that they would subsequently be delivered into English hands. These documents make pathetic and convincing reading, expressing, as they do, not only innocence, but grief of these several gentlemen for having accused their comrades under " extreme torment of fire and water, that flesh and blood could not endure: and this we take upon our death, that they put us to death guiltless of our accusation." . . . " Wherefore, having no better means of making my innocency knowne, have writ in this book, hoping some good Englishmen will see it. . . . Farewell . . . written in the dark."

So were executed, before the natives of Amboyna who were collected by beat of drum, Captain Gabriel Towerson, Agent of the English, and nine other Englishmen; and the carpet which received his body, being soiled with blood, its cost was debited to the English account.

The book from which we have quoted ends with an examination of the evidence, pointing out

how there were ten men all strenuously protesting innocence at their last sacrament, and at the place of execution. In their house were found three swords, two muskets and half a pound of powder. They were ten against a strongly garrisoned fortress, they could not have expected praise or reward from their own Company or King, who were bent on keeping in favour with the Dutch, and they had for their support neither ship nor pinnace, while the Dutch had in the harbour eight ships of which the *Rotterdam* was 1200 tons.

"It is true that Stories doe record sundry valiant and hardy enterprises of the English Nation: yet no story, no Legend scarcely, reporteth any such hardiness, eyther of the English or others, That so few persons, so naked of all provisions and supplyes, should undertake such an adventure upon a counterpartie, so well and abundantly fitted at all points."

But, as we have said, the reader is left to form his own conclusions.

195. England made no serious bid for Sea Power till the end of the sixteenth century: but in A.D. 1600, when the Dutch put up the price of pepper from 3/6 to 6/- a pound, the rivalry began, though there was no actual fighting till in 1651 Cromwell's 'Navigation Act' decreed that British imports should be carried in English ships, or in the ships of the country where

the goods were grown or manufactured. This was a direct challenge to the 'Wagoners of the Sea.' War broke out in the following year.

196. We have already explained in the Preface the necessity of looking far afield, and beyond the Archipelago, for the causes that gave rise to a kaleidoscopic sequence of events in Malaya. Without that, the story is not intelligible. The research involved in presenting a clear, concise narrative is very considerable indeed. At the period now under review events in Europe must positively be kept in mind. France, under Richelieu, had been struggling for Sea Power from 1628 to 1642, and after that there followed sixty years of confused fighting that resolves itself into four groups:—

1. Britain v. Holland (1652–1665) in the time of Cromwell.
2. Britain v. Holland and France (1666–1667).
3. Britain and France v. Holland (1672–1678). At this period France, under Colbert, was making another spasmodic bid for the Sea, though her first interest was her Eastern Frontier. The Netherlands were directly menaced, while at the same time her sea power was failing under the strain. In 1672 Britain withdrew from the war: and as a

Neutral gradually absorbed the Dutch carrying trade.

4. Britain and Holland v. France (1688–1713). During this phase France was distracted by the wars of the League of Augsburg and of the Spanish Succession. She lacked sea power, while England alone of the belligerents was replacing her losses, and though there was little naval fighting, this was a period of steady growth in British sea supremacy. Gibraltar was gained by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Nor must it be forgotten that from 1739 to 1748, and again from 1756 to 1763, France and Spain were directly or indirectly at war with England. Hitherto British possessions had been in the nature of trading stations, but gradually vast territories had been acquired in America and India: and by 1763 the Kingdom of Great Britain was already in effect a British Empire.

197. And it was only now that British influence in the Archipelago began to be in the least considerable. Early enterprises in the field had been small and unsuccessful. After the massacre of Amboyna in 1623, British prestige was almost extinguished. Factories were established at Bantan and Batavia in Java, but had failed by 1682. Attempts to foster a con-

nection with Borneo met with little success and were abandoned. In Sumatra alone they met with better fortune, and factories were set up intermittently at Acheen, Tiku, Priaman and other places: and in 1684, after withdrawal from Java, a settlement was made at Bencoolen, known subsequently as Fort York, and then as Fort Marlborough, that was destined to have a comparatively long history. But it is doubtful if even Bencoolen was ever financially successful, and in 1760 it was temporarily abandoned after being bombarded and plundered by a French squadron. Certainly, up to this point, the British had been neither very successful nor very heroic in the Malay Archipelago.

198. Then in 1786, Francis Light, the captain of a merchant ship, persuaded the Sultan of Kedah to cede to the British the small Island of Penang. The need was felt for an intermediate port between India and China, and Penang was finally occupied and named 'Prince of Wales' Island.' This acquisition was destined to have an acrimonious history, of which more later: but it is of interest here to note that Penang, acquired as late as 1786, was the first British possession in the Malay Archipelago that did not prove abortive.

Francis Light is one of those personalities over whom it is pleasant to linger. Early orphaned, an

adopted child, he entered the Navy, but soon left it for a life of adventure in India. He became intimately acquainted with the language and sentiments of the Malays of Kedah, and expert in the navigation of their seas: and for many years urged upon an unsympathetic Indian Government the advantages of having a harbour in those waters before the Dutch forestalled us. Eventually, after the departure of Lord Hastings, the Acting Governor, Sir John Macpherson, sanctioned the acquisition of Penang, appointing Light to administer it, and leaving him to use his influence in moderating as far as possible the Sultan's terms. On the 15th July, 1786, Light anchored off Penang Island and commenced the clearing and building of what was destined soon to be—in spite of the Indian Government's listlessness and the Sultan's growing jealousy—a valuable port. He fostered the beginnings of Penang for eight years till his death in 1794, when the once jungle-encumbered island had attracted a population of 25,000 Malays, Indians, Bugis, Siamese, Burmese and Chinese. There was no official recognition of his abilities and perseverance: yet Francis Light stands forth in history as a loyal, lovable, practical figure, with some of the spirit that afterwards distinguished Raffles, though without his outstanding genius.

Like Raffles, Light owed his success to his

comprehension of Oriental character. He could summarize in a few words those with whom he had to deal. Of the Arab Malays he says "Good friends and dangerous enemies"; of the Chulias "Neither worthy of confidence nor fear." Of the Bugis who came on their periodical trading visits he writes:— "They are better governed by mild exhortations than by force. They may be persuaded, but yield reluctantly to stern authority." In view of the complaints of the Chinese at a later date of harsh treatment at Penang, it is interesting to read that Light thoroughly appreciated their value. "They are the only people in the East," he says, "from whom revenue can be raised without expense and extraordinary effort. They are indefatigable in the pursuit of money, and, like Europeans, spend it in the gratification of their appetites." [1]

199. However, while Francis Light laboured at Penang, Dutch supremacy was still at its height, and England had received a serious set-back by the American War of Independence. France had tried to exploit that opportunity, but though she reaped some measure of success, she was impoverished: and there followed the French Revolution, resulting, so far as we are here concerned, in Napoleon.

[1] *Penang in the Past*, page 158.

200. The Napoleonic struggle resolved itself into three phases:—

I. First, Napoleon in 1795 thought that the source of British energy was in India. To break it, he took Egypt in 1798. But Nelson destroyed his fleet at Aboukir, and cut off his army: and there followed the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 which provided for a reshuffling of Malayan possessions. Throughout this period the Dutch maintained the possession of Java, Madura, Southern Sumatra, Sumbawa and Timor, but met with disaster elsewhere. They lost Ceylon first, then Cape Colony, and then their possessions in India, Guiana and the Malay Peninsula. A British expedition from Madras appeared before Malacca, and the fortress surrendered without a blow, the Commandant of the English force dining that night with the Governor, whose wife, we are told, played the harp and chewed betel. The Dutch factory in Perak surrendered in the same year. In Malacca, the English found a population of fifteen thousand persons composed of Malays, Chinese, Klings and Europeans. By the Treaty of Amiens (1802) Malacca was restored to the Dutch. The peace, however, proved to be only a 'breather,' and war broke out again before the transfer had been effected. Holland, now subject to France, was once more forced into hostilities with England. So, instead of handing

over Malacca, the British retained it and demolished its fortifications.

II. In 1803 Napoleon attempted to invade England, proposing to protect his transports by a fleet that he was never able to concentrate. Villeneuve did escape from Toulon to a rendezvous in the West Indies, but was not joined by other contingents, and there followed Nelson's pursuit—and Trafalgar.

III. Napoleon now attempted to conquer the sea by land—as, indeed, Alexander had done with success before him. He tried to coerce Europe into refusing trade with England, but the end of it all was the retreat from Moscow.

These events have to be kept steadily in mind by students of Malayan history, for, on the one hand, hesitation on the part of England in the East may at least be condoned by events of such peril and importance at home. On the other hand, Holland was conquered by Napoleon. Her position now, was exactly that of the unfortunate Portuguese before her, when Portugal was conquered and became the prey of Spain's enemies. Now Holland in her turn was the prey of France's enemy—England. Nor had the Dutch been very generous to England. Their policy of monopoly had aimed at the destruction of *all* rivals; and Holland, and her Malayan possessions, were therefore fair game for the British.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BRITISH

A.D. 1802–1826

201. In 1805 efforts were made to reorganize the administration of Penang which had not hitherto been financially successful: and Raffles found himself there officiating for the Chief Secretary. Stamford Raffles was born at sea off the coast of Jamaica. He had received the scantiest education in England, and at the age of fourteen had come out without friends or prospects as one of the Company's extra clerks. He was now twenty-four years old. Such were the beginnings of one of England's greatest Pioneers—a born statesman, a patriot and a gentleman with high ideals, and wide sympathies and interests: pre-eminently one of those whose acts are destined to influence the lives of many future generations.

202. Two qualities contributed to the success of Raffles with Orientals—firstly, a mastery of languages; and, secondly, a habit of studying the natives and admitting them to intimate and social intercourse. Thus he won their affection and respect, and profited by their opinions. At this period, too, Raffles cultivated the friendship of Leyden and Marsden, and in company with these two Orientalists commenced his elaborate research into the history, laws and literature of the Malay race. He displayed an equal zeal for

the advancement of botany and zoology: and later on appointed to his personal staff scientists, zoologists and, at different times, such eminent botanists as Arnold and the delightful William Jack, both of whom died in his service. He maintained a private press whereby the fruit of these labours in a new field was circulated. His name is immortalized by association with *Raffleasia*, one of the gigantic flowers of Sumatra, as well as with the scientific nomenclature of many birds, butterflies and insects. Glimpses of his versatile genius are revealed in the letters of Jack:—

"I cannot express to you how much I am delighted with Raffles. He is the real stirling stamp, and of that active and comprehensive mind that diffuses a portion of its own energy to all round."

Such was Thomas Stamford Raffles, who was destined, almost single-handed, to establish British power in Malaya. Within his own lifetime much of his work fell into apparent ruin, but from his brilliant forethought rose the British Malaya of to-day.

203. At the time of the Napoleonic Wars the Dutch had been in possession of Java for two centuries, where their selfish monopolies had irritated everyone—European and Malay—to the limits of endurance.

"Their whole policy was a violation of justice and decency. Determined to monopolize the whole East

Indian trade, they were guilty of an immense amount of bloodshed in their efforts to eradicate every semblance of a colony in their neighbourhood belonging to any other nation, and likely, therefore, to deprive them of a share of the spice trade. Not only so, but in order to derive a greater profit from the sale of nutmegs and cloves which they exported from the Moluccas, they hired the natives to extirpate the plants in all the islands of the group except Banda and Amboyna, the two of whose permanent possession they were most secure. The same miserable and blighting spirit presided over the Government of Java."

Such is the evidence of so honest a witness as Raffles.

204. In Java the Dutch had a monopoly of all produce, including the food of the population. Receiving the grain, coffee and pepper from the cultivators at a very low price, they stored the produce, sold back to the people at a very high rate what was required for their own use, and exported the surplus. Thus the producer was forced to sell his pepper to the Government for twopence a pound, and buy it back for his own use at a shilling a pound. Europe got its pepper at about six shillings a pound. As the suzerain state of Bantam alone produced six million pounds of pepper, it is obvious that the profits must

have been very comfortable had they not so exasperated everybody.

"A system of finance more confused, wasteful and unenlightened, cannot be conceived: and a similar spirit of tyranny characterized all the other branches of Government."

There resulted considerable misery and discontent among the driven, impoverished and discouraged Javanese. In addition, there were more than thirty thousand slaves in Java, mostly imported from Pulau Nyas and other islands off the coast of Sumatra, Celebes and Borneo. There had by this time grown up an incredible and systematic piracy in Malayan seas which will be discussed later. Here it is sufficient to say that the coast populations were kidnapped wholesale—villages at a time. Many died at sea, while others took their lives and those of their children rather than be captured. The Macassars, who were thus decimated, were a brave and civilized race, once nearly as powerful in the Archipelago as the Javanese.

205. In 1809 Raffles (from Penang) visited Calcutta, and managed to interest Lord Minto, then Governor-General, with suggestions regarding Java. In 1806 France had overrun Holland, and in 1810 added it, together with its Oriental possessions, to the French Empire. Phase III of the Napoleonic struggle

was at its height. The French flag was run up in Batavia in 1811. Java, therefore, was no longer a Dutch, but a French Colony: and there presented itself a splendid opportunity for the British of wresting from Napoleon this jewel of the East. Moreover, though the French fleet had ceased to be a striking force in home waters after 1806, fast privateers and frigates still roved between Mauritius and Java: and Marshal Daendels, working from Batavia, seems to have had schemes for extending French influence to Acheen and Burma. But by 1811 Mauritius was in British hands, and the moment for striking at Java seemed to have arrived.

206. It was not, however, an enterprise to be undertaken rashly. Raffles was first sent to Malacca to formulate plans. These he communicated to Lord Minto, who immediately proceeded in person with a powerful naval and military expedition. The fleet, consisting of ninety sail, left Malacca on the 18th of June, 1811, and anchored off Batavia. The capture of Java proved to be easier than was anticipated. There was a battle at Weltevreden, but by the 16th of September the conquest was complete.

207. Raffles remained as Lieutenant-Governor, and now entered upon his brilliant administration of Java, which, in spite of the jealousy, criticism and yapping of mean little men, has left his name illus-

trious. Besides obstruction at home and in India, he was faced with a mountain of difficulties in Java. His most important reforms were the reorganization of the revenue system, and of police and justice. He abolished slavery. With regard to revenue he totally withdrew monopoly and all that went with it. Rent of land was fixed on the basis, as a rule, of two-fifths of the annual rice production. This rent being paid, the farmers and villagers were free to dispose of their produce in the best market they could find, and how they liked. This, of course, meant freedom and prosperity to the people, and was an inducement to work. Tolls were abolished, communications improved, ports thrown open, and Government works paid for instead of being done by forced labour. The result was that, whereas under the Dutch there was a revenue of four million rupees, after five years of Raffles' administration it had increased to thirty million. And all this was effected in spite of the discouraging fact that, from the beginning, the return of Java to the Dutch after the war was always regarded as a remote possibility.

208. Raffles relinquished charge in 1816: and at the fall of Napoleon the Politician lost what the Soldier had won. There was never a more tragic example of it than Java—that Queen of the Eastern Sea. If the Dutch had been forced unwillingly into

war with England, had not also the unhappy Portugal been forced into war with Holland under exactly the same circumstances? The Dutch never dreamed of giving back to Portugal the prizes of that war, as now they received them back from those benevolent idiots, the English. The Treaty of Vienna restored Malacca to the Netherlands, and the Dutch flag went up there once more in 1818. Java and Sumatra were also restored—the reward of the Dutch, for an unsuccessful and utterly disastrous war, being a little present of territory three and a half times the size of France, fifty-eight times as large as the Netherlands itself, and with seven times the population.

209. As for Malacca, it was valueless. The fortress had been destroyed, the harbour had long since silted up, the strategic interest of the place had ceased, and Penang had taken away all its trade.

210. In 1817 Raffles was in Europe, where he was received by the King of Holland, and though the Dutch reverted largely to their old policy in Java, some, at least, of Raffles' measures formed the basis of their new administration. But, most unfortunately, the Dutch, in spite of their undoubted good fortune at the Treaty of Vienna, renewed their jealousy and dislike of the British, though the latter held nothing in the Archipelago but Penang and Bencoolen.

211. In 1818 Raffles assumed the Lieutenant-

Governorship of the wretched little moribund settlement of Bencoolen in Sumatra.

"Prepared as I was for Dutch jealousy, I am astonished at the unreserved avowal they have made of their principles, and their steady determination to lower the British character in the eyes of the natives, and the measures they have adopted already towards the annihilation of our commerce throughout the Malay Archipelago."

212. Bencoolen (Fort Marlborough) had been founded in 1685. It was inconveniently situated and badly managed. It was in no way a credit to our administration. Slavery continued, and the Government had augmented its failing revenues from the licensing of gaming houses which went far to demoralize the natives. The Sumatrans also were far less civilized and amenable than the Javanese. In 1801 the British Resident, Mr. Parr, had been murdered, and in revenge the neighbourhood had been most unnecessarily laid waste. Raffles, with his usual energy threw himself into the work of reorganization. He abolished slavery, closed the gaming shops and dismissed his body-guard, allowing the local Malays about his person; for the same system had been pursued as in India of excluding the people from European society. Sir Stamford at once broke down these barriers, and opened his house to the

higher class Malays on all occasions. But he had the great-mindedness not to attempt in Sumatra the liberal measures which had been so successful in Java.

"I found in Sumatra," he says, "a very different people from the inhabitants of Java. They are, perhaps, a thousand years behind them in civilization, and consequently require a very different kind of Government. In Java I advocated the doctrine of liberty and the individual rights of man—here I am an advocate of despotism. The strong arm of power is necessary to bring men together and to concentrate them in societies, and there is a stage in which despotic authority seems the only means of promoting civilization. Sumatra, in great measure, is peopled by innumerable petty tribes, subject to no general government, and having little or no intercourse with each other. Man still remains inactive and sullen, and partakes of the gloom that pervades the forests by which he is surrounded. No European power seems to think it worth while to subdue the country by conquest."

213. In these not very fortunate circumstances Raffles turned his attention to the establishment of some new settlement that should command the sea. He first considered the Straits of Sunda. Full of these schemes, he visited India and won the confidence and support of Lord Hastings. But there

were difficulties with regard to the Straits of Sunda, so Raffles turned to the Straits of Malacca. With a flash of genius, he ran up the British flag on the Island of Singapore on the 29th February, 1819.

214. His brilliant mind immediately appreciated the advantages of this situation. With extraordinary prevision he wrote:—

"You may take my word for it, Singapore is by far the most important station in the East: and as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory."

215. Raffles found at Singapore a Chief related to (and consequently at enmity with) the Sultan of Johore. With this Prince a treaty was concluded. The obstruction of Penang, which Jack describes as "disgraceful beyond anything," was ignored. Raffles put in Major Farquhar as Resident, and a few days later returned to Bencoolen. Thus at the very end of his career, after so many and bitter disappointments, and in the teeth of obstruction and criticism, Raffles achieved by a master-stroke that key to the Far East that was finally to establish British supremacy on the Malay Peninsula.

216. He returned to Singapore in 1822 and busied himself with administration and town-planning. Already the trade of the new port had risen to thirteen

million dollars as compared with the five millions of Penang. Population and shipping had increased by leaps and bounds, and that prosperity was accumulating which alone could win the support and countenance of a slothful and distant Indian Government in the face of Dutch indignation. In 1823 Raffles left the East. The ship in which he sailed from Bencoolen was burnt on the first night of the voyage. In this disaster Raffles lost the whole of his notes, maps and collections, including Jack's botanical collections. It is typical of the man's energy and courage that the day after landing he set out to repair this loss and had his collectors at work again. Raffles died in England in 1826, aged only forty-five.

217. Naturally the Dutch were furious about Singapore, though indeed, after all that had happened, they might well have been a little more generous. But they appreciated the strategic value of Singapore once it had been pointed out. Further, it gave the *coup de grâce* to Malacca. But, as the Dutch historian Hendrik Muller writes sadly:—

"When 4 years old in 1823, Singapore contained a population of 10,000, and had attracted a trade of two millions sterling. . . . Under these circumstances the British Government, without denying the justice of the Dutch claims, adopted a policy of delay that would ultimately lead to a situation which might be

declared incompatible with the repeal of the annexation. This design was successful."

218. In the meantime, the Dutch were anxious to be rid of the British in Sumatra, and not particularly willing to be saddled with the dead port of Malacca.

219. The Treaty of London was therefore concluded in 1824, which defined the spheres of interest as we now know them. The Dutch gave up all claims on India, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, and recognised Singapore. The British withdrew from Sumatra. Both parties promised mutual trade facilities.

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220. In 1826 the little Island of Pangkor, known as Pulau Dinding, was ceded to the British by treaty with Perak because:—"The said island affords safe abode to pirates and others, who plunder and molest traders on the coast, and inhabitants on the mainland, and because the King of Perak has not the means or power to drive out those pirates." The mere surrender of the island was sufficient to restrain the pirates, and it does not appear that the British occupied or took formal possession of the Dindings until 1869, when the Malays disputed certain geographical definitions in the treaty.

221. Thus in 1826 we had lost by Peace all that

we had won in War. There remained four little patches of British territory in the Malay Peninsula—so small that you can drive across them in a few hours, or even minutes—Penang Island, the Dindings, Malacca and Singapore Island.

222. But though on the map these results appear so exceedingly disappointing, it must be remembered that time has proved the truth of Raffles' prophecy that Singapore is 'worth continents of territory.' Further, an eye must be kept—as always—on contemporary events. In 1824 we were occupied with all the embarrassments of the First Burmese War, and in 1826 (the date to which we have brought our story) we had acquired by the Treaty of Yandabo the whole of Tenasserim and Arakan.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PIRATES

223. Our history now having been brought up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is desirable to see how the Malays have been getting on while the World has quarrelled over their countries. In Java they have lost their independence: though a semblance of sovereignty remains. Everywhere else they are as they were before. In Sumatra they have successfully defied the Dutch. In the Malay Peninsula no effort is made to interfere with their internal affairs. In Borneo they are hardly touched by European influence. In Sulu and the pirate islands they are the terror of the seas.

224. Yet there has been a change, and on the whole for the worse. The Malay Courts indulge their genius for intrigue in the old way: but the prestige and power of the princes have suffered by European interference and rivalry, and the People have lost whatever slight protection their Rulers may formerly have afforded them. The subversion of Native Authority, with nothing to replace it, has, in a word, left the People defenceless: while chaos is increasing both on land and sea.

225. The lawlessness at sea is by far the most serious. In Borneo it has interrupted immigration—particularly of the Chinese. And everywhere it is

destroying what trade has survived the Dutch and Portuguese monopolies. An appalling misery has fallen upon the coast people, who are being plundered and carried off wholesale into slavery. Trade and revenue being curtailed, or altogether destroyed by monopoly, piracy, or both, local Chiefs are reimbursing themselves by oppression and lawlessness, and even by an open organization of further piracies. Agriculture is neglected, tribes are migrating farther into the interior, and fertile land is going back to waste: while the shifting of power to new centres is leaving ruin in the once prosperous ports. Moulmein, Tavoy, Mergui, Kedah, Malacca, Bantam, Ternate—all these once flourishing centres, that dazzled the imagination of early travellers, are dwindling into mere villages.

226. Of the Piracy we shall have more to say shortly. Here it will suffice to state that by 1848 it was unbridled. No effort had been made to cope with it. Misery, murder, incendiarism and slavery had spread to inland communities.

227. Piracy was worst at the eastern end of the Archipelago, but from New Guinea to Penang there was scarcely an island free from it, or that did not furnish buccaneers. Many expeditions devoted themselves almost entirely to slave raiding: for the population captured in one part was readily saleable in

another. In April the pirate fleets of Sulu, consisting of two or three hundred prahus, well armed and supplied with guns and cannon, set sail, and separating into two divisions swept round the Island of Borneo, landing at intervals, firing villages, collecting captives, plundering and most wantonly devastating the country for miles. In this way they proceeded annually before the monsoon breeze to the Straits of Sunda capturing occasional Europeans and their wives. October to January were favourite months for cruising about the Straits of Malacca and along the east coast of the Peninsula. In these ventures they were countenanced and even financed by Malay Princes who shared the spoil, and received a proportion of slaves according to the amount of money invested. Being armed with guns, ranging from 6- to 24-pounders, the pirate prahus if in force did not hesitate to attack disabled or becalmed European ships. Amongst their victims were the *May* in 1788, *Susanna* in 1803, *Commerce* in 1806 and *Harriet* in 1810. No reprisals were attempted, and for forty years the port of Brunie in Borneo was marked on Admiralty charts as a place which it was death to enter.[1]

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1848.

CHAPTER XV

BORNEO'S PLACE IN HISTORY

228. Hitherto we have only glanced briefly at Borneo from time to time, and it is necessary to go back and pick up the threads of its early history—such as they are. Borneo, with an area of 286,000 square miles, but a population of only 1,700,000 people, is the second largest island in the world, being half as big again as France.

229. Borneo has been known to the Chinese from very early times, and Chinese coins dating from 600 to 112 B.C., and from A.D. 588 onwards, have been found in Sarawak. It is probable that Genghis Khan extended his conquest of China (A.D. 1206–1227) to Borneo, where Chinese had already settled; that Kublai Khan, thus brought into conflict with the Javanese Empire of Majapahit, invaded the island with considerable forces in 1292; and that a Chinese Colony was subsequently established in North Borneo. There are fragments of evidence to show that the present savage races of the interior were at some forgotten period in touch with Chinese civilization, and with the Hinduism of Majapahit. The Dayaks, as we have seen, retain traces of contact with Java, and the Dusun of even more intimate relations with China.

230. From Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula,

Malays spread to Borneo, their colonies gradually consolidating into Sultanates like those of Brunei, Sambas, Banjermasim, Koti, Pasir, Tanjong and Pontianak.

231. "In the 14th century the Sultan of Brunei was a vassal of the Javanese Empire, but in 1370 he transferred his allegiance to China, and in 1408 a King of Brunei paid a visit to Pekin and died there. Between 1415 and 1425 tribute was sent four times to the 'Son of Heaven.' Trade with China increased, and every year a great fleet of junks came down to Brunei on the north-east Monsoon, and returned on the south-west Monsoon with precious cargoes of spices, edible birds'-nests, sharks' fins, camphor, rattans and pearls."[1]

232. The first Europeans to visit Borneo were the Spanish when Magellan circumnavigated the World in 1521. We have already noted Pigafetta's account of the then prosperous port of Brunei. The Portuguese followed in 1526 and also described a large and flourishing population.

"From 1530, the Portuguese maintained a regular intercourse between Borneo and their colony in Malacca, until expelled from there by the Dutch in 1641. In 1565, the Spanish took possession of the Philippines, and thenceforth took a good deal of

[1] Owen Rutter.

interest in Borneo, sending an expedition to punish Brunei in 1645 for piracies committed on the Philippine coasts."[1]

233. The Dutch connection began in 1600, when Oliver van Noort visited Brunei. They expelled the Portuguese from Sambas in 1609, and established a factory which was abandoned in 1623. Factories were planted at Pontianak in 1778, but withdrawn in 1791. Then in 1818, two years after the British restoration of Java to the Dutch, these factories were recommissioned: and from that time the present Dutch Residency of Western Borneo dates. It will be noted that Europeans had a chequered and not too prosperous career in Borneo; and for the reasons already given in the chapter on Piracy, their advent was more than usually disastrous to the Natives. Those Natives we have already described in the review of Proto Malay races.

234. The first organized effort of the British in Borneo was an East India Company's settlement at Balamban, an island north of Marudu Bay. This was in 1773 (thirteen years before the acquisition of Penang), and the motive was the usual one—an intermediate port between India and China. But, as we have noticed, British pioneers had no luck in these

[1] Bampfylde and Baring-Gould's *History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajas.*

waters. Two years later, the Sulus, egged on by the Spanish, sent an expedition to Balamban disguised as carpenters. At the right moment a successful attack was made, and the British were driven to their ships. Fortunately they had just acquired a pepper monopoly at Brunei and had a small settlement there, to which the fugitives retired. Balamban was re-occupied in 1803, but shortly afterwards abandoned. British prestige in Borneo was mud.

235. "In the fourteenth century, Brunei had a population of at least 100,000. Two centuries later it was estimated at 40,000, with a Chinese community of 30,000 planting pepper. In 1809 it has sunk to 15,000 and the Chinese had disappeared or been reduced to slavery."[1]

The decay of these Malayan Sultanates was due primarily to the misrule of the Sultans themselves, but partly also to the rapacity of early Europeans—in a word, to all the evils that attended the system of Monopoly—destruction of the China trade, the interruption of immigration, the undermining and impoverishment of local Rulers, leading to organized piracy and general chaos. Under these circumstances the cultivation of pepper declined, and in some places the natives were prevented from planting more

[1] Bampfylde and Baring-Gould's *History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajas.*

than the Dutch Company required. So also with spices.

"In October every year the Dutch would send a large force through the Spice Islands to destroy trees."

Naturally such a greedy policy reacted in the end on the culprits.

"The increasing interference of the Dutch," writes Raja Brooke in about 1845, "in the concerns of Malay Governments, and the watchful fomenting of their dissensions, have gradually and effectively destroyed all rightful authority, and given rise to a number of petty states that thrive on piracy and fatten on slave-trade. The consequent disorganisation of society has placed a bar to commercial enterprise and personal adventure. As far as can be ascertained, the financial and commercial concerns of the Dutch have not been prosperous: and it is easy to conceive such to be the case. Oppression and prosperity can never co-exist."

236. As for the natives, the Malays had always had a tendency to piracy, though Sea Dayaks were only given to occasional raids. But the Malays had disturbed the comparatively peaceable Dayaks and encouraged them to abandon agriculture for professional brigandage. And this, as we shall soon see, reacted most unpleasantly on the Malays, when the Dayaks had learnt their strength and acquired a taste for out-

lawry. As for the Land Dayaks, who were formerly numerous and prosperous, they were reduced to poverty. "Three whole tribes were completely exterminated," and the rest retired as far as possible inland beyond the reach of their persecutors. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Borneo had sunk into hopeless misery and disorder.

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237. Now once again are footsteps left upon the Sands of Time—those of James Brooke—a generous man, something of an idealist, whose acts, equally with those of Raffles, were destined to bring security and comfort to hundreds of thousands of human beings. To the wrecked society of Borneo he came in 1839.

238. Brooke was born in India, and was now thirty-three years old. He served and was wounded in the First Burmese War: visited Penang, Malacca and Singapore: heard fairy stories of the Archipelago beyond: returned home: and was left a small fortune of £30,000. Out of this he bought the *Royalist*, schooner, 142 tons, and sailed away under the Royal Yacht Squadron's flag on a voyage of pleasure and natural history to Singapore. There he was entrusted by the Governor with a letter to Raja Muda Hasim of Sarawak. So came Brooke to the adventure of his life, to be an independent sovereign Prince in Borneo,

and to lift the fog of misery that had settled upon that unhappy land.

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239. Raja Muda Hasim was heir presumptive to the throne of Brunei, and had been sent to Sarawak by the Sultan to quell a Dayak rebellion against the local Governor. The Governor was a tyrant, but he had not been removed. The amiable Raja Muda Hasim had neither the energy nor the ability to suppress the rebels, and his failure to do so was beginning to prejudice his interests at the court of Brunei. The rebellion had been going on for four years, and there was no prospect of terminating it. To this distracted Prince came James Brooke in the *Royalist*, 142 tons, with his letter.

240. It ended by the Raja imploring Brooke to stay. Brooke declined. The Raja offered him inducements, finally promising to appoint him Governor of Sarawak with the rank of Raja if he would bring the rebels to terms. Brooke accepted, landed his forces, ten Englishmen and two small guns, and joined the Malay forces. After some bloodless actions, the Rebels, relying on Brooke's promises, came in under a flag of truce, and eventually surrendered on condition that Brooke became Raja. But having the enemy now in their power, the Malays turned cold to Brooke. He had difficulty in saving his surrendered

Dayaks and their families, and there was no more talk of sovereignty. On the other hand, he had become the recognised protector of the Dayaks, though that only increased the suspicion of the Malays. However, he had his schooner and his guns, which he turned on the Malays more than once, so that the Dayaks saw that he was ready to protect them and himself. After one of these crises Brooke drove out the old Governor, and on the 24th September, 1841, with the acclamation of the People, Raja Muda Hasim formally installed this Englishman as Governor and Raja of the district of Sarawak, the order being duly confirmed in the following year by the Sultan of Brunei, on whose behalf Raja Muda Hasim had acted.

241. The White Raja's first act was to release the captive women and children of the Dayaks. Of this race he writes:—

"None are more deserving the commiseration of the humane. Though industrious they never reap what they sow: though their country is rich in produce, they are obliged to yield it all to their Malay oppressors: though giving up all but a bare sustenance they rarely preserve half their children, and often—too often—are robbed of them all, and of their wives too."

242. But now whole families of these wretched people began to return from the mountains and from

Dutch territory to resume the sites of their burnt villages. They relied on the White Raja, yet it was obvious they could render him little support in his still precarious situation. Nevertheless, Brooke proclaimed free trade, the opening of roads, the safety of persons and property, and established a court of justice to administer the native laws such as they were, with a few of their more barbarous punishments modified. And all these were grounds for resentment and discontent to the Malay Chiefs, who regarded disorder and oppression as their first source of revenue.

243. Brooke now turned his attention to the suppression of piracy and head-hunting, of which the late rulers had been the chief patrons. A short visit to Brunei to pay his respects to the Sultan was sufficient to show him that Prince's utter weakness. He noted also the dissensions amongst the Malay Chiefs, and the total decay of their power internally and externally. Piracy, however, was conducted on a scale before which one lonely Englishman was powerless—for it had passed beyond the control of the Malays themselves. The most important pirate communities were the Illanun or Lanun, the Balanini, the Bajaus (Sea-gipsies who lived entirely in their prahus) and the islanders of Sulu.

" The vessels employed by the Lanun on marauding

expeditions are sometimes sixty tons," wrote Raja Brooke, "and over ninety feet in length."

A double tier of oars was worked by a hundred slaves. The woodwork was stout enough to resist 6-pounder shot, the sharp bows were iron-shod, and they carried guns of varying calibres up to 24-pounders. A Pirate fleet might consist of two hundred of these prahus, though usually they cruised with twenty or thirty, or less. They would descend on a coast: sack, burn and kill: destroy the trees and cattle: and carry off the men, women and children into slavery. A cargo of slaves from the east coast of Borneo was readily saleable on the west coast: and the uncle of the Sultan of Brunei, who was also his principal adviser, was the Pirates' agent, supplying them with powder, shot and guns, and receiving in return four captives for every hundred rupees' worth of munitions supplied. In these circumstances it was obvious that the Malays would not be long in wearying of the reforming White Raja whom they had created at a moment of embarrassment.

244. Brooke's appeal for British help met with no practical response. One can imagine the Official World being thoroughly scandalized at proceedings such as his. And perhaps this was just as well, for an Englishman with an entirely free hand is always at his best. And fortunately, while visiting Singapore

in 1843, Brooke struck up what was to be a life-long friendship with Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel—a naval officer who knew how to do his duty without orders. "Keppel stands foremost amongst the friends of Sarawak." With H.M.S. *Dido*, to which was added the *Phlegethon*, he paid Raja Brooke a friendly visit: and there followed a series of skirmishes and engagements which, though they did not destroy piracy, at least crippled it before Keppel was ordered off to China. And, further, this outside support improved the Raja's prestige amongst his friends on shore. His position, however, was still precarious, for he had a host of enemies round the person of his Sultan in Brunei.

245. In February, 1845, H.M.S. *Driver* suddenly arrived at Sarawak with despatches promising the Sultan of Brunei help in the suppression of piracy. This was in response to Raja Brooke's appeal; but naturally assistance of this kind was the last thing a Sultan desired whose uncle is head of an extremely profitable brigand business. Brooke, having by the same despatch been appointed 'Confidential Agent in Borneo to Her Majesty,' proceeded in the *Driver* to lay Her Majesty's gracious assistance before the Sultan in person. There must have been a curious meeting. The Sultan and his Court expressed gratitude—which was the only thing to be done in the

presence of H.M.S. *Driver*: but as soon as she left, the lives of Raja Muda Hasim (Heir presumptive) and of his brothers (now all returned to Brunei from Sarawak) were in danger. So were the lives of all who had supported the White Raja policy.

246. On receipt of Raja Brooke's earnest entreaty a British Squadron touched at Brunei on the 9th August on its way to China. The Admiral called on the Sultan to release some British subjects captured in one of the financial ventures of the piratical uncle. The Sultan refused, and the Admiral blew the uncle's house to bits, and then proceeded to the pirate stronghold in Marudu Bay. A force of launches ascended three miles up the river to the uncle's forts, which had been strengthened by a boom and a floating battery. The forts were crowded with defiant warriors and were gay with flags. Evidently a stout resistance was intended. A party was sent to cut the boom, and with it went the Raja of Sarawak's nephew, a naval lieutenant, who was destined to succeed him. The action soon became general. The pirates fought desperately, till their position was turned: and then they fled in confusion. Their cannons were captured, their prahus sunk, and the impregnable fortress of Uncle Serip Usman was left blazing furiously.

247. There follows a pause of some months. Then in February, 1846, twelve hundred Sekrang Dayaks

laid waste the coast. In Brunei the Sultan, feeble, savage and affronted, at last resorted to assassination to rid himself of the White Raja clique. Most of Raja Muda Hasim's brothers were simultaneously butchered in their houses. One of them, Raja Bedrudin, a firm friend of Brooke's, put up a fine resistance. Then, handing a ring that Brooke had given him to a servant who escaped with it, this brave Malay opened a keg of powder, called his family round it and blew the house up. Things had taken much the same turn in Raja Muda Hasim's house. He also blew himself and his family up, but survived the explosion, and finished himself off with a pistol.

248. Brooke in Sarawak had tidings of these events some time later, and decided that he must either avenge Hasim's death or leave Borneo altogether. Fortunately, the Admiral of Singapore had also heard wild rumours, and help was already on the way. The fleet arrived at Sarawak in June, picked up Raja Brooke and proceeded to Brunei. The approach was fortified, and a severe engagement took place before the town was captured. The Sultan fled, and a provisional Government was formed. The Sultan's fate, however, was better than he deserved. He was permitted to return, but on abject terms. The prestige of Brunei was gone for ever. The actual murderers of Raja Hasim were punished, honours

were paid to the grave, and the Sultan sent Brooke a deed formally withdrawing his suzerainty. Sarawak was *de jure* independent: and Brooke a free Sovereign-prince. And, further, the British flag was hoisted on the adjacent Island of Labuan on the 24th December.

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249. In 1849 the Saribas and Sekrang tribes burst out in another frightful succession of outrages. Raja Brooke with *Nemesis* and *Royalist* proceeded to the Saribas river, and found the pirate fleet away. It was decided to wait and intercept them. Thus came about the Battle of Beting Maru, which caused the *Spectator*, the Aborigines Protection Society and other benevolently minded idiots the utmost grief, for it gave piracy its *coup de grâce*. Met with showers of grape, every retreat intercepted, the pirate fleet was destroyed in the moonlight after a five hours' engagement. By midnight it was all over, and the power of Piracy broken for ever.

250. Two years before this the Raja had visited England, where honours were showered upon him. He was received by the Queen, knighted, petted by all the leading Clubs and Societies and appointed Governor of Labuan. Now, after the Battle of Beting Maru, this truly great and benevolent man became the subject of a bitter controversy, the victim of a most scurrilous and venomous persecution led by such

distinguished men as Cobden, Hume and Gladstone, not forgetting the *Spectator* and the Aborigines Protection Society. What did it matter to any of these that men with their wives and little children had been provided with security in Borneo, delivered from a dreadful tyranny? Brooke was a 'monster.' These persecutions lasted four years, and though the Raja survived them they seriously weakened his prestige at the time.

"England," he wrote in bitterness, "has been the worst opponent of progress in Sarawak, and it is now the worst enemy of her liberty."

But there will always be found philanthropic idiots in England to sling mud at the greatest of their countrymen. Is there not in Parliament to-day a man who has been told "Your friends are always England's enemies"?

251. This utterly unworthy agitation deprived Raja Brooke of outside help for a long time, and during that critical period his work of mercy was nearly undone—once by Interior Tribes who were only reduced at the third effort in 1861: and once by the Chinese, whose Secret Societies, emboldened by the fact that a Royal Commission had been appointed to investigate the Raja's conduct, tried to upset his government in 1857. On this occasion his capital was burnt from end to end, and the Raja only escaped

by swimming the river at midnight. However, that was the last of his serious troubles. He died in England in 1868, and was succeeded by his trusted nephew, who on many occasions had officiated for him. British protection was formally extended to Sarawak in 1888, and the State considerably enlarged by means of negotiation. Brunei had sunk into impotence and bankruptcy, and the Sultan was glad enough to sell part of his territories. Sarawak has now an area of 42,000 square miles, and Brunei only 4000. In 1905 a British Resident was appointed to Brunei. Sir Charles Brooke, the second ruler, was connected with Sarawak as Raja Muda and as Raja for seventy-five years till his death in 1917.

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252. The wise policy these successful Rajas of Borneo have taught and practised is still widely disregarded in the East by people who think they know much better. A common mistake, says the Second Raja, is to exalt European ideals to the exclusion of Oriental ones, instead of using modern methods as a corrective when the indigenous ones are obviously unsuitable. The system applied from the beginning in Sarawak was to accept what was the common law of the people, putting a veto only on what was dangerous. System and legislation have been made to wait on occasion. When new wants are felt, they

are provided for by measures made on the spot, rather than imported from abroad, and the consent of the people is gained before they are put into force. The suppression of Slavery is a case in point. There was no violent legislation; but slowly the status of slaves was improved, while at the same time the responsibilities of owners were increased, till at last slave-owning became an expensive nuisance, and the system died out.

253. The Government of Sarawak was, and still is a mild despotism, in which the influence of the first Raja pervades everything. For purposes of administration the country is separated into Divisions with Residents: and there is a Supreme Council and a General Council, giving local chiefs an interest in the affairs of the State. During the recent Great War oil was struck in Sarawak in large quantities, and the Raja—the third of the dynasty—is a wealthy man—yet at a price. The industrial community at the oil fields of Miri is superbly ignorant of the romance of Sarawak: and an American 'Driller' on being told recently that it was the Rani's birthday, replied:—"Sure, is that so? And who may *he* be, anyway?" The ghost of James Brooke must have groaned when a mechanic, on being introduced to the present Ruler, exclaimed cordially:—"Pleased to meet you, Raja. I thought you were black."

CHAPTER XVI

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

254. To preserve chronological sequence we should now return to the Malay Peninsula, but it will be more convenient to round off the modern history of North Borneo in a short chapter.

255. The story of British North Borneo is as romantic as that of Sarawak, though less heroic. There were not the same obstacles, nor were there dramatic incidents: but still, it is a tale of adventure, and begins with William Clarke Cowie, who sailed East from Glasgow in a 14-ton yacht to found a kingdom as recently as 1872. In that year he was gun-running in the Malay Archipelago in defiance of the Spanish. An early venture to Jolo, the capital of the Sulu Islands, where he successfully bluffed a Spanish gunboat, won him the unreserved regard of the Sultan of Sulu. This Sultan loathed Spaniards. Gun-running is highly profitable: and the Sultan eventually gave Cowie sovereign rights over North Borneo (in the light-hearted way they had in those days) that he might establish a more convenient base in Sandakan Bay. The gun-running prospered, the Labuan Trading Company was formed to foster it, and there were no rivals till one day an American, Mr. Torrey, styling himself ' Raja of Marudu and Ambong,' claimed export duties on one of Cowie's

cargoes. The sovereignty of North Borneo had, in fact, been disposed of twice over: for it now appeared that in 1865 a Mr. Moses, while United States Consul in Brunei, had received much the same rights from the Sultan of Brunei as Cowie had from the Sultan of Sulu. Nor was this the only complication. Moses had sold these rights to Torrey, who had sold them to a syndicate of whom Torrey was the only survivor in 1878. Unto himself he had taken a financier, an Austrian nobleman called Baron Overbeck, who was the agent of two English brothers called Dent. It is the Dent Brothers who come out on top in this tangle, for the Baron proceeded to Brunei and paid £1000 for the renewal of the concession which had lapsed. However, it turned out that the concession was void in any case because Brunei was under treaty obligations (1847) with England not to dispose of territories: and, further, the Sultan's father had already ceded the same country to Sulu. It was not therefore his to dispose of.

256. The facts of this cession of North Borneo by Brunei to Sulu are rather interesting. The misrule of the Brunei Sultan and his vicious Malay nobles drove the indigenous tribes and the Chinese into rebellion in 1650. Matters became so critical that Brunei had to seek assistance from the Sultan of Sulu, and in return for his services ceded North Borneo to

him. A century later, when Sir William Draper captured Manila from the Spaniards in 1763, he found the then Sultan of Sulu a prisoner and released him. The latter, in gratitude, ceded to the East India Company the territory his predecessors had received from Brunei. No immediate use was made of the concession, but ten years later, in 1773, when an intermediate port was required between India and China, the Island of Balamban was occupied, as we have noted, seized by an enemy disguised as carpenters, reoccupied, and finally abandoned.

257. It would therefore seem that North Borneo belonged to the Sultan of Sulu if to anyone, and Baron Overbeck wisely wrote off his £1000 at Brunei, brought in his rival, Raja Cowie, the friend of Sulu, and presented himself to the Sultan. The moment chosen for the negotiation was favourable. Sulu was under the shadow of Spain. The Sultan saw Nemesis coming, and was glad enough to dispose of his Bornean territories for the price of £1000 a year. The concession was made on the 22nd January, 1878, and sovereign rights were granted for 18,000 square miles of North Borneo. The venture was looked upon favourably by Mr. Treacher, Governor of Labuan. The natives themselves were only too pleased, the Sultan's officers proclaimed the transfer, and the flag of Dent Brothers was run up at Sandakan. Six

months later the Spaniards seized Sulu, but, so far as their chances in Borneo were concerned, they were six months too late.

258. The willingness of the natives of North Borneo to accept the new Government is quite remarkable. There have never been any operations that deserve to be classed as more than police expeditions.

259. The new owners of North Borneo appointed Agents, issued Trade Rules and cultivated friendly relations; but they were in no position to do more. It was necessary to find money and protection. The Baron is said to have sought these in Austria and Germany, but failing, bought out, as Cowie had already done. The Dent Brothers now formed a 'Limited Provisional Association,' taking unto themselves experienced men like Sir Rutherford Alcock and Admiral Sir Henry Keppel of Sarawak fame. The body was kept small until the situation consolidated, after which it was realized a large Company would be necessary. A Royal Charter was asked for in 1878, and with much talk was granted in 1881, after violent protests from the Dutch and Spanish (neither of whom had the ghost of a claim and had neglected it if they had) had been disposed of. In 1888 North Borneo, together with Brunei and Sarawak, became a British Protectorate, though the British North

Borneo Company still ruled the country under its Royal Charter. The Company's capital was two million pounds, and Mr. (later Sir) William Treacher was lent as the first Governor. Government was now organized on a permanent footing, the country opened to private enterprise, and the Chinese were encouraged to immigrate—since more population was, and still is, a crying need. There were plenty of difficulties; but tobacco, first planted in 1883, had a timely boom in 1885, which helped the Government at rather a gloomy period of its finance. North Borneo and Sumatra are the only areas in the world which produce superfine wrapper-leaf tobacco.

260. Labuan was transferred to the Company's administration in 1889, but became part of the Straits Settlements in 1906: and on the mainland, the district of Api Api, on which now stands the town of Jesselton, was bought from Brunei in 1898, and the frontiers generally rounded off to march with those of Sarawak and Dutch Borneo. Such railways as there are were constructed between 1896 and 1905: but at present the question of communications is undecided, and opinion leans rather towards motor roads than railways, though there are still hardly any roads at all in the country. Rubber was first planted in 1893, and tided over another period of financial stress during the boom, as tobacco did on a former

occasion, and there are now 53,000 acres under cultivation. It is curious to note how various products have had short but glorious spells of success—spices, nutmeg, pepper, coffee, tobacco and rubber. In 1914 forestry was reorganized, but American methods have proved too costly. Tin and oil are not known to exist. As a general principle, the British North Borneo Company obtains its revenues from administration rather than from engaging in trade, which, it is felt, would tend to bring the Government into competition with private enterprise.

Rising up out of British North Borneo, and towering high above everything else, is the mysterious peak of Kinabalu (13,455 feet), that Mecca of the Naturalist that in the last three-quarters of a century has been visited or climbed by only twenty-five persons. In 1925 I took an Expedition to its summit, receiving every possible help and encouragement from the Government, and especially from Mr. G. C. Irving, Resident at Jesselton. The first unrestricted view of Kinabalu from Kotabalud, at a distance of twenty-five miles, is probably the most imposing of all, displaying as it does the full majesty and solitude of the mountain. Its relation to the surrounding country, its uncompromising aloofness, are here seen in proper perspective. But a nearer aspect from Dallas is also very fine. Across the Valley of Kyau, Kinabalu, now

close at hand, is vast, naked, threatening: its stupendous precipices laced with not less than fifteen cataracts, some of them nearly 1000 feet high—white ribbons of foam against the dark granite. After rain the mountain spouts water. Gigantic cliffs, bastions, towers and pinnacles are characteristic of every aspect of Kinabalu. It is truly an impressive peak, that cannot fail to inspire wonder and respect in one about to ascend to those apparently inaccessible heights.

On the 19th June we reached the little cave at Paka (9790 feet). The cold was intense: and as I lay that night looking up at the huge boulder that forms the roof of the cave, I thought of that select little band who had slept here also—Low, St. John, Whitehead, and the rest, who have left behind such romantic records of travel and natural history.

The limit of the trees is not far above Paka Cave, and here a sacrifice of rice, eggs and fowls was made to the Spirits of the mountain, and two gunshots were fired. These rites were specially agreed upon in my contract with the Dusun guides and porters; for Kinabalu is the abode of the departed spirits of these people. Then followed a climb up rather difficult slopes of slippery granite, where a fall might be disastrous: but above that the going is easy, for the way lies up a gently shelving 'Plateau.' A

MOUNT KINABALU

Mount Kinabalu (13,455 feet) is the haunted mountain of British North Borneo, to which the spirits of the dead retire after death. The author took an expedition to the summit in June, 1925. The highest point is shown on the right of the lower picture.

few *leptospermum*, 4 or 5 inches high, some grasses and the silver-leaved Potentilla grow in the cracks of the granite: but otherwise the rock is utterly bare, and there are no other signs of life. From the edges of this ' plateau ' rise five or six savage-looking peaks. Fortunately the one that is credited with being the highest (by only 5 feet) is a loose pile of rock, easy of ascent. This is ' Low's Peak.'

Here the gently sloping plateau ends in a horrid abyss—a sort of Devil's Cauldron, or crater, of incredible depth, whose walls rise in sheer precipices for thousands of feet. As the outer contour of Kinabalu is precipitous, so also is its interior. This gulf in the heart of the mountain, which is certainly a grand and terrifying sight, has been given the rather inadequate name of ' Low's Gully.' When we reached the summit two more shots were fired (also according to contract). Pointing into the chasm at our feet, the old Dusun priest who accompanied us said, " Fire in that direction ": and the noise of the discharge, feeble though it was, echoed back and forth amongst the precipices. One can well understand how the austere character of Kinabalu has impressed the simple-minded Dusun who live at its feet. Here are all the stern realities of Nature—dreadful depths, sheer cliffs, raging cataracts and barren rock upraised hundreds of feet above tree limit. It is only

natural that its uncompromising aloofness should have suggested to the human mind an unconquerable remoteness such as that to which men's spirits retire after death.

But this mountain is not a subject for which adequate space can be permitted here, for I have already described it in my *Kinabalu, the Haunted Mountain of Borneo.* I can say nothing of the wonderful pitcher-plants—*N. Lowii* and *N. Villosa* —that grow at high altitudes; nor of the marvellous butterflies at its base, many of which are specialized forms. The mystic mountain, trod as yet by a paltry score of travellers, still withholds half its secrets. There are still new birds, new butterflies, new flowers to be discovered. A dozen virgin peaks await a conqueror. The solitude of its chasms, and of many a valley, has never been invaded yet by man. From the beginning Kinabalu has been an object of awe and wonder: and so it still remains.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STORY OF KEDAH

A.D. 1821–1844

261. We now return to the Malay Peninsula, where a tragedy has overwhelmed the State of Kedah. This is one of the hardest passages to elucidate, since the 'Kedah Question' was highly controversial at the time, and is still the subject of dispute amongst writers. Moreover, the record of the central event—an invasion by Siam in 1821—which was published three years later by Mr. Anderson, was collected by the Government of Penang and carefully destroyed, one private copy alone surviving. This copy was 'proved' in evidence at the trial of the Kedah Princes for Piracy in 1840. The sequence of events now presented has been arranged with a good deal of difficulty from statements made on oath at that trial, which at the time roused a storm of indignation against the East India Company. Whether their behaviour was, or was not, correct, the reader must decide for himself; but so far as the Penang Government is concerned one may be sure their hand was tied, and their initiative weakened, by 'Superior Authority' in India—with what disastrous results to the inhabitants of Kedah we shall see.

262. In Chapter XII it was briefly noticed that in 1786 the Sultan or Yam Tuan of Kedah gave a lease

of Penang Island to the British through Captain Light. Certain definite conditions were attached to this concession—namely, that the British should protect Kedah from attack, particularly from the Siamese. Siam had not been supported by what she considered her vassals when the Burmese invaded her, and lately she had punished that neglect in Patani with considerable severity. Kedah was apprehensive of similar treatment. Further, an annual allowance of Rs.10,000 was to be made to the Sultan as compensation for loss of trade to Kedah which he rightly foresaw would result from the rise of a new port at Penang. These conditions were accepted, and the British acknowledged the sovereignty of Kedah and its entire independence of Siam.

263. Penang was acquired and after a lapse of years grew, under British administration, into a great and flourishing port. The Sultan in due course died and was succeeded first by his eldest son and then by his second son, in whose time Prye and Province Wellesley (the hinterland of Penang Island) were further ceded to the British, the treaty being rectified accordingly. Then a grandson, Ahmad Tajudin Halim Shah, succeeded, in whose day arose the occasion for the British to fulfil their side of the treaty made thirty-five years earlier. Kedah was suddenly attacked by Siam.

264. On the morning of the 12th November, 1821, without warning, a Siamese fleet appeared off Kedah. Armed forces rushed ashore and commenced an indiscriminate massacre. The women were forced from their husbands and violated: the men were murdered with every refinement of brutality. In many cases they were 'spread-eagled' and split down the middle with an axe, the two halves being thrown to the crocodiles in the river (Anderson). This was an organized, cold-blooded massacre with none of the mitigations of passion that lead men to deeds of savagery in war.

265. In the subsequent days and weeks this destruction was continued in the surrounding districts, and then in the Langkawi Islands. There, too, ensued "death and desolation almost exceeding credibility. The men were murdered, the women and female children carried off to Kedah, and the little boys either put to death, or left to perish." These are the incidents described in Mr. Anderson's book, which those who later became the allies of Siam deemed it expedient to burn. This invasion naturally alarmed the other Malay States, who offered help. The Dutch also sent a gunboat: but the authorities in Penang declined assistance, and themselves remained passive.

266. When resistance had ceased, a Siamese Government was set up in Kedah that soon reduced the Malays

to a settled and hopeless misery. Outrageous requisitions were made for supplies. Heavy taxes were introduced. Literally hundreds of girls, married and unmarried (it mattered not so long as they were pretty) were collected from house to house and despatched to Bangkok. Swine were driven into the mosques, and many of these buildings were destroyed. At the advent of the Siamese there was an estimated population of 180,000 in Kedah. Before long it was reduced to 6000. Refugees without clothes or food crowded to Penang in small boats, and many were drowned on the way or died of exposure. Thousands fled to the adjacent Malay States: and indeed the rapid cultivation of our new Province Wellesley was largely due to the labours of 50,000 fugitives from Kedah.

267. At the time of the arrival of the Siamese the Sultan had been away from his capital on a pleasure trip. Resistance being impossible, he withdrew first to Prye, and then, on the invitation of the British, to Penang, where he addressed the Indian Government reminding them of their obligations. From there he was persuaded to proceed to Malacca—freedom of movement being assured. But some time later, when he went to Bruas with the intention of attempting a reconquest of his country, he was pursued by a British war vessel which, without provocation, fired on him, killed several of his followers and wounded his son.

The Sultan was then towed back to Malacca, where he was kept under restraint, and his allowance, hitherto paid, reduced to $500 a month.

268. In 1826 there arose a fresh complication when the British became entangled in the First Burmese War. The neutrality of Siam was a matter of importance: and, to effect it, Colonel Burney went to Bangkok and made a treaty which, amongst other friendly concessions, acknowledged the suzerainty of Siam over Kedah, which the British had already expressly denied in their treaty with Kedah. Colonel Burney is said to have been ignorant of the Treaty of Kedah. Be this as it may, the Penang Government found themselves in a dilemma. If they repudiated Siamese suzerainty they admitted gross treachery to Kedah. If, on the other hand, they acknowledged Siamese suzerainty, then Kedah had no authority to dispose of territory, the Kedah Treaty was void, and the British possession of Penang illegal.

269. In 1831, a nephew of the ex-Sultan, called Tuan-ku Koodin, roused to fury by an attempt to blow him up in his house (his wife and children were blown up), recaptured Kedah, and with the greatest ease expelled the Siamese. From April to October (1831) he restored a Malay Government.

270. Then at last Penang took action, but, strange

to say, not on the side of Kedah. The British, in fact, blockaded Kedah and assisted the Siamese to resume control, which they did after Tuan-ku Koodin had fought on to the bitter end.

271. Affairs remained in this condition till 1838, when a young Malay Prince, Tuan-ku Mahommed Saad, son of the heir, and who in the absence of the Sultan and the death of the heir was himself heir, suddenly retook the Langkawi Islands. Malay refugees flocked to him. The fort of Kedah was again taken, and the Siamese were again expelled as easily as before.

272. Tuan-ku Mahommed Saad was, in fact, entirely successful. He immediately recalled the Sultan, but the old man was broken with seventeen years of exile. His eldest son did, however, join Tuan-ku Mahommed Saad, and for seven months (June to December, 1838) peace was restored, and prosperity and happiness began to return. There is much evidence to show that Tuan-ku displayed uncommon energy and wisdom, and that his qualities quickly won the confidence and affection of his people. Refugees returned in thousands; taxes were removed; trade was encouraged; and roads and mosques were restored.

273. Then Penang got busy again. They repeated the blockade from December, 1838, to March,

1839. The Tuan-ku was starved and fled. And the Siamese returned. And now all the old misery returned with renewed vengeance, and began with the carrying of three thousand Malays into slavery in Bangkok, and "to be given as presents to His Majesty, the Princes, and Ministers." "It was a sad sight," writes a witness of their arrival, "to see these poor people pulled up past our house in open boats, containing 50 in each, with their heads thrust through triangles of bamboo—mothers, children, girls and men all jumbled together." In Kedah the fields were deserted, and famine descended on the unhappy land.

274. In the meanwhile, Tuan-ku Mahommed Saad withdrew to the Islands of Langkawi. The British had 'proclaimed' a state of war—were, in fact, blockading the coast: and yet, as we shall see, the Prince was subsequently brought to trial for '*piracy*'! for sinking British-owned boats at Langkawi. From Langkawi he retired to independent territory—Perak. The Sultan of Perak now made a mysterious visit to Penang: and immediately afterwards a British war vessel, without meeting with any protest, entered Perak waters and came alongside Tuan-ku Mahommed Saad in the river at Bagan Tiang. The Prince was now ordered to Penang, but he opened a keg of powder and defied anyone to take him in tow. Later, the

British captain persuaded him to come on a clear and distinct promise of safety and freedom. Yet, when he complied, his boats were destroyed: and on arrival at Penang he was arrested, imprisoned along with convicts and charged with 'piracy' in the very island given by his grandfather on promise of protection. These appear to have been the facts. Evidence was destroyed, and there has never been a denial. Shade of Raffles!

275. At that time the Admiralty Court had been newly constituted in Penang. Nothing could have been calculated to give wider publicity to these events than the unwise prosecution that followed. Public indignation had been growing for years, and now extremely able counsel was secured for the heroic but unfortunate Prince. We have no space here for rhetorics, but suffice to say that in that Court a spade was called a spade, and the East India Company cut a very unheroic figure. The prisoners (there were several of them) were acquitted, and all released, except the Tuan-ku, who was rearrested at the bar of the Court as an honourable 'Enemy.' However, the trial had done its work. It became shot for pamphleteers, and we read that in 1844, after twenty-three years' exile, the old Sultan was recalled from Malacca to resume his throne. One may suppose that the politicians had been busy in Bangkok. As

recently as 1909 the suzerainty of Kedah was transferred from the Siamese to the British.

276. It is naturally a matter of interest to honest Englishmen to know just how we stand in relation to these extraordinary events. The crux of subsequent arguments seems to lie in whether, in 1786, the Sultan of Kedah was an independent sovereign, with the right to dispose of territory, as he represented himself to Captain Light: or whether he was merely a vassal of Siam.

277. The case for those who claim that Kedah was a vassal of Siam, that the Sultan misrepresented his status, and that therefore the English were justified later in not supporting him, is stated as follows by Lt.-Colonel James Low. It is claimed that the Sultan sought protection from 'His enemy' the King of Siam, that he led Captain Light to believe and report that Kedah was independent. Further investigation threw doubt on the accuracy of these claims, but it was too late to withdraw, though it is regrettable that the cession of Penang Island was not obtained from Siam, who, being at war with Burma, and anxious for a means of importing arms on the west coast, would have been willing to confirm the transfer of Penang. (It must be remembered that Burmese armies were invading Siam in 1760, 1765, 1771, 1785 and 1791, and that they destroyed the old

Siamese capital of Ayuthia or Yodiya). Siam was probably not in a position to punish Kedah for failing to render the assistance due from a vassal, but she called Pahang, Trengganu and Kedah to account: and it seems that the Sultan of Kedah, finding that his finessing with the British had not freed him from Siam, returned to his allegiance. He died in 1799, and of his successors the second was actually invested in Bangkok.

278. The case for those who claim that the Sultan was free to make treaties is based on Vattel's legal contention that a State that pays tribute to a powerful neighbour to secure protection, and which acknowledges its obligations to help that neighbour in war, is nevertheless mistress of her own private and internal affairs. Further, Captain Light's enquiries led him to report that:—

"It does not appear either in writing or tradition, that Kedah was governed by Siamese Laws and Customs. The people of Kedah are Mohammedans, their letters Arabic, and their customs Javanese. The Sultan originally came from Menangkabau in Sumatra: but as Kedah was very near to the Siamese province of Ligore, it sent every third year a Gold and Silver 'Tree' as a token of homage and to preserve a good correspondence. After the defeat of Siam, the King of Ava demanded the Gold and Silver

'Tree,' and received this token from Kedah. But the Siamese drove out the Burmese, and built a new capital at Bangkok: and the Sultan of Kedah sent the 'Tree' to Siam, and kept peace with both, paying homage sometimes to one, sometimes to the other, and often to both."[1]

279. The rights of the case will probably never be unravelled. On the part of Kedah, it appears that, to obtain protection, the Sultan really was anxious to cede Penang: and that the cession took place with the sanction of the Government of India, though without ratification from Europe. The Indian Government was certainly unwilling to be drawn into entanglements: but there can be no doubt that the Sultan believed, and Light admits having led him to believe, that protection was implied, and that formal ratification would follow. The British Government's hesitation is intelligible: but in all the years that intervened before the catastrophe, and as the demands and exactions of Siam became increasingly outrageous, this question of protection was constantly brought forward by succeeding Sultans. It never lapsed into oblivion, and surely should have been settled. It was debated throughout Light's eight

[1] These aspects of the case are stated in an article, 'Penang in the Past,' in the *Penang Gazette* of 4th and 5th Feb., 1925, to which I am indebted.

years of administration: and when Lord Minto passed through Penang on his way to Java as late as 1810 the Sultan of that time placed the whole matter before him in a most convincing and pitiable appeal:—

"Every exertion on my part has been made to prevent the coming rupture with Siam, but I am unable to submit to demands exceeding all former precedent. . . . No certain arrangement from Europe could be heard of by my predecessors, nor could I obtain any assurance on which I could depend. . . . I request a writing from the King, and from my friend (Lord Minto), that it may remain as an assurance of the protection of the King, and descend to my successors in the Government."[1]

The Sultans of Kedah, like the Shan Sawbwas of Burma, were the vassals of anyone who could enforce their tribute—and for so long only. The East India Company's chief fault was hesitation. It had acquired Penang in good faith, and developed it by honest industry extending over a period of thirty-five years. In these circumstances no nation in the world would have withdrawn. But as to whether, in their perplexity, they backed the wrong horse, the reader can form his own conclusions.

[1] 'Penang in the Past.' (Appendix, pages xxvi and xxix.)

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM KEDAH TO PANGKOR

A.D. 1844–1874

280. From the restoration of the Sultan of Kedah in 1844 to the Treaty of Pangkor in 1874 there are no very outstanding events. Briefly, it was a period of growing chaos on the mainland of the Malay Peninsula, and of the development of a British policy with regard to the prevailing anarchy. It was beginning to be evident that something had to be done about it. The evils of European jealousies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were now fully apparent. The power and prestige of the native governments had been weakened, and as European settlements on the coast provided no alternative authority, the people were left unprotected, and anarchy grew as each selfish Chief struggled to keep his own end up. Added to this was the inability of the Malays to govern large Chinese communities which had been attracted by the lure of tin, which were rent by racial jealousies, and which did not hesitate to take the most desperate reprisals on each other, involving also the Malays in their disputes. For all these evils British rule in the Straits Settlements was no remedy at all, since the Government of India, finding that neither Penang nor Malacca paid its way, issued the most stringent orders against

expensive interference with Malay affairs. The result of this policy led to disasters, of which Kedah is the extreme example.

281. In 1867 the Straits Settlements passed from the Government of India to the Colonial Office. Few residents in Malaya to-day appreciate the importance of that step. The Colonial Office was as anxious as India to avoid entanglements, and drastically restricted the power of local authority to make treaties. But at the same time appeals for help and advice came in from time to time from the Malay Chiefs; while, on the other hand, traders of all nationalities were dissatisfied at being told, as they were in 1872, that if they engaged in hazardous enterprises amongst the Malays, they must not howl when stung. Government, both at home and in the Straits, was beginning to recognise that it had its duties to perform on the mainland. Kedah in the far north still under Siamese suzerainty, and Johore in the far south under the influence of Singapore, had acquired comparative tranquillity: but in all the Peninsula between, from Perak to Malacca, things were going from bad to worse. There was murder and war and slavery on land, and piracy on the sea: trade was ruined: and the population was literally in danger of being destroyed.

282. The crisis came in 1872–3 in a conflict

amongst the Chinese over the tin mines of Larut in Perak. It threatened to spread even to Penang itself, where the rival Chinese had riots and blew up each other's houses. By 1873 we find the British Government considering interference, the appointment of Residents, and even the annexation of the Malay States as the only remedy: and Downing Street committing itself to the rash opinion that:—

"H.M.'s Government find it incumbent upon them to use such influence as they possess to rescue these fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall if the present disorders continued unchecked."

Quack, quack ! !

CHAPTER XIX

PERAK

A.D. 1874–1877

283. Originally the seat of the Malay Rulers of Perak was at Bruas, a town situated on the estuary of the Dindings River. The river has since silted up, and Bruas is now an inland village of small importance. Its independence had so far declined in A.D. 1500 that it paid tribute to Sultan Mahmud Shah of Malacca. Hamilton, writing in 1727, describes Perak as:—

"Properly a part of the kingdom of Johore, but the people are intractable and rebellious, and the government anarchical. The country produces more tin than any in India, but the inhabitants are so treacherous, faithless and bloody, that no European nation can keep factories there with safety. The Dutch tried it once, and the first year were cut off. Then they settled in Pulau Dinding, but about the year 1690 that factory also was cut off."

To which we may add:—"And serve them right too." Since to decline to sell them tin at far below its value was *casus belli*, it is hardly surprising that the Dutch were frequently 'cut off.' But in 1757 the persistent fellows were back again, and established a factory on the Perak River at Tanjong Putus. Then Perak fell under the power of Kedah: and when

Kedah was almost destroyed by Siam might have suffered a like fate but for Captain Burney's Treaty of Bangkok. In the meanwhile the Chinese had begun to take an interest in tin mining in Larut. Larut is a swampy district, then outside Perak but adjacent, and belonging more to Perak than to anyone else. From 1850 to 1857 the problem before the Malays was 'How to deal with the Chinese?'[1]

284. These insignificant facts are leading up to something big—the advent of British rule: and this is one of those occasions where a petty quarrel becomes important. It is the ancient custom of Perak for the Sultan's brothers to succeed him in turn, the three senior Chiefs holding the posts of Sultan (King), Raja Muda (as it were Prince of Wales) and Raja Bendahara (Duke of York). When the Sultan dies, Raja Muda takes his place, Raja Bendahara takes Raja Muda's, while the next senior Prince becomes Raja Bendahara. This rule had been broken owing to quarrels. The Raja Bendahara was a stranger from Sumatra, and his name was Ismail. On the Sultan's death in 1871 the rule was again broken. The Raja Muda, Abdullah, was passed over, and Ismail, a weak, easy-going old man, was elected Sultan. Having introduced *Ismail*, the new Sultan, and *Abdullah*, the rightful heir who was passed over, we may return to

[1] Wilkinson.

the Chinese, in whose quarrels these two Malay Chiefs subsequently became figure-heads.

285. The tin of Larut had been found by a Malay called Long Jafar who sought and obtained a grant of that wild country, and whose son in later years became an independent ruler with the title of *Mentri*. His rôle in this story is that of a shuttlecock.

286. Long Jafar had lived in Bukit Gantang, and his first mine was where now stands the gaol of Taiping: and his second was on the site of the present town of Kamunting. These two places, still rich tin areas, are only two miles apart, and the clannish spirit of the Chinese miners gathered them into two factions called Hai San and Ghi Hin, one at each of these adjacent mines.

287. In any case there is very little hope of the reader following what happened: but it may simplify matters if we call the belligerents X and Y. In the days of the Mentri there was a brawl in Taiping (X's camp). They captured thirteen men of the other side and deliberately murdered them next morning, dipping their banners in the blood. This was War: and *Mentri* (the Malay ruler) backed X which seemed the strongest. But it would have required a more astute man than the unfortunate Mentri to pick the winner in this ding-dong affair. Y now appealed to the Governor of Penang, and the British helped

them to the extent of blockading the coast. This gave them the advantage in munitions, of which quantities were imported, and X driven out. The Mentri then crossed over to the victorious Y, but the X, now driven to Penang, gained the Governor's other ear: and to add to the confusion Abdullah (rightful but rejected Sultan) came to cast oil on the waters by joining X—chiefly because the Mentri was for the moment Y. The elected Sultan Ismail joined Y chiefly because Abdullah was X. The Chinese were more or less indifferent to the manœuvres of these Malay allies, but to the Malay inhabitants, involved as they soon were in a bloody civil war, it was a matter of some importance.

288. X, whom we left recovering in Penang, recruited junks, returned to Perak, landed, and slaughtered the Y by thousands. But Y had its base in Penang also, and went one better by blowing up the Mentri's house (he having just effected one of his transfers to the other side), and they also introduced the row-boat.

289. Later both sides had row-boats which were intended to blockade the coast: but before long they were indulging in indiscriminate piracy of such vigour that even those Masters of the Art—the Malays—found they had much to learn. It was a case of pirates pirated. These row-boats pulled twenty oars

on each side, and the shallowness of the coastal creeks made it very difficult for the Navy to deal with them. There was an urgent demand to England for steam launches. Numerous neutral junks and boats were pirated off the Dindings, necessitating the establishment of a post on Pangkor Island. Trade altogether ceased, for in addition to the several rival blockades, there were also stockaded forts up the rivers where merchants paid toll two and three times over to the various factions.

290. In August, 1873, the British determined to do something. It will be remembered that the Mentri's last move was from Y to X. Naturally this necessitated Abdullah's transfer from X to Y. Since, at least, he was the rightful heir, Government decided to assist Y; but Y refused to follow Abdullah's advice, so there was nothing for it but for Government to side with X instead: X+Mentri+Actual Sultan (Ismail); and Governor Ord authorized this party to recruit Indian troops and employ Captain Speedy of the Penang Police. Speedy, with some Sikhs and four Krupp guns, sailed for Larut in September, 1873. Y fought desperately, but the tide was against them.

291. Unfortunately, Sir Henry Ord's tenure of office expired at this critical moment, and he was succeeded by Sir Andrew Clerk. All the disputing parties were summoned to a meeting on the Island of

(F. W. Majer)

LIFE ON THE CREEKS

Until the Malay Peninsula was opened up after the Treaty of Pangkor in 1874, the waterways were the only means of communication. The Creeks, with their fishing villages and trading *prahus*, are still a feature of Malay life.

Pangkor in 1874, and they came—all but Sultan Ismail. The Chinese, it was found, were willing to accept arbitration; and their dispute was very easily settled, as we shall see. There remained the Malays. With regard to them the policy was changed from supporting Sultan Ismail who was absent, to recognising Abdullah who was present, and to whom the assembled chiefs promised support. The introduction of British Residents had been decided upon, and Abdullah signified his willingness to accept one in Perak. And certainly he was the rightful heir to the throne. The Treaty of Pangkor was drawn up on these lines.

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292. The measures for the settlement of the Chinese affairs resolved themselves under three heads, and were effected by a Commission appointed under the Treaty of Pangkor, and headed by Mr. (later Sir) Frank Swettenham. Firstly, disarmament, surrender of row-boats and destruction of stockades: secondly, the recovery of women and children seized, kidnapped and sold by the contending parties: and, thirdly, the composing of the dispute about the mines. These delicate matters were settled speedily and with little difficulty by the tact, energy and firmness of a handful of British officers. With regard to the mines, a settlement of outstanding claims was hopeless. No title

deeds existed, no permits had been issued, there were no boundaries, and the mines had changed hands over and over again. In these circumstances the Chinese leaders were assembled near where stands the modern town of Taiping, and a few axioms were expounded to them:—(*a*) that the country they had just ravaged did not belong to them, and that they had better rid themselves of all delusions on that point: (*b*) that the claims of all alike were entirely illegal: and (*c*) that those dissatisfied with the decision about to be given were urgently advised to depart whence they came. Upon this basis the Commission then built a fence across the country midway between where now stand Kamunting and Taiping, and assigned all the old mines on one side of the fence to one party, and all on the other side to the other party. As for new mines, all could obtain these where they liked on procuring regular licences from the British Resident about to be appointed under the Treaty. In this Solomon-like judgment the Chinese acquiesced, seeing as they did equal treatment for all, and the prospect of peace and wealth. In the same year the new Assistant Resident of Larut (Captain Speedy) found himself obliged to plan two new mining towns for the returning population, one on each side of the Swettenham Fence. Of these, one was called Kamunting after the name of the Malay district: and the other,

as an omen for the new era of prosperity, Taiping, which in Chinese means ' City of Lasting Peace.'

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293. So much for the Chinese. In November, 1874, James Wheeler Birch was appointed Resident for Perak, and it was soon evident that the tranquillizing of Malay affairs was going to be difficult. To begin with there was no money, and every measure to secure revenue conflicted immediately with the interests of the Sultan (now Abdullah) and his Chiefs, who had toll bars everywhere, and who had always administered in Malay fashion—that is, purely for their own amusement and profit.

294. The Slave-debtor system also embroiled the Resident with existing Authorities. Under this system all persons unable to pay a fine or debt became slaves of the debtor as did their families, and sometimes their children for generations. Children were sometimes sold into slavery to settle debts. Girl slaves supported themselves chiefly by prostitution. The Chiefs supplied themselves with retainers by these means, and claimed the right of murdering their slaves even for petty offences. Even when a slave raised the money to buy his release, he was not always allowed to do so. "In this way," writes Captain Speedy in his first administration report in 1874, "about three-fourths of the Malay population are

bound over to the remaining quarter." The system was more or less universal in the Peninsula, but at its worst in Perak: and protection sought under the British flag, even by persons in the Sultan's own household, went far to aggravate an already difficult situation.

295. Then, again, the deposed Sultan Ismail refused absolutely to hand over the regalia without which Abdullah could not be legally invested. In all other respects Ismail was courteous and pliant. Sultan Abdullah, on the contrary, was wilful and sulky: and Mr. Birch was strong and energetic, but perhaps not tactful. Abdullah feared he might be deposed: and the Resident would no doubt have preferred dealing with Ismail. There was a secret meeting of Chiefs at which ways and means were discussed of getting rid of the Resident from their midst. Sultan Abdullah was present, but exactly what was said is not clear. His dealing with the Resident had by now reached a deadlock, and he received an ultimatum to sign a proclamation to the effect that he would accept a fixed salary for himself and his Chiefs, and not interfere with the administration. He signed. The Chiefs were furious, but the proclamation was printed and posted. Mr. Birch took copies to distribute, and one was posted at Pasir Salak, the village of Maharaja Lela—a Chief against whom

he had been warned. Mr. Birch was bathing at the time in one of the matting sheds erected for that purpose by the Perak River. The proclamation having been torn down, an angry mob rushed to the bathing shed and thrust in spears. The Resident was seen to fall into the water. He rose once and was slashed at with a sword—and then sank.

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296. Thus began the Perak War. Troops were rushed in from India and China, and by the end of November, 1875, a considerable force had control of the country. The principles of this history now disappear. Maharaja Lela and Dato's Sagor were hanged at Matang. Ex-Sultan Ismail was exiled to Johore, where he died. The Mentri of Larut was banished. Sultan Abdullah was deposed and deported to the Seychelles, where he reformed, took to a collar and trousers, won the admiration and sympathy of the islanders and spent fourteen years getting up petitions to Queen Victoria which were willingly signed by merchants, priests and lawyers—none of whose homes had been sacked, none of whose wives had been raped, none of whose little children had been sold. The cumulative result of these labours was the return of Abdullah to Singapore in 1891. Before he died in 1922, he resided at Penang with permission to make brief visits to Perak.

297. In the meantime, in Perak, Mr. Birch's successor quickly resigned, and was replaced by Colonel (afterward Sir James) Low, the real author of prosperity and happiness in the Malay States. He was faced with dreadful difficulties—a bankrupt State, a sullen people and impoverished Chiefs: but he found a way through everything. Once more had appeared a man of the type of Raffles and Brooke—not so spectacular a figure as either; but nevertheless one who left footprints in the Sand, one to whom future generations are unconsciously indebted. He possessed marvellous tact and persuasion. The Chiefs were compensated by remunerative billets. Forced labour was replaced by a definite land tax. A State Council was created in which the people could make their views known. In a few years debts were cleared off. Debt-slavery came to an end in 1883. Land tenure, water rights, forest and revenue farms were placed on a proper footing. And presently followed roads and railways. So was an unhappy country led into the path of tranquillity, and to all the marvellous success, prosperity and development that characterizes it to-day, and whose germ lay hidden in the Treaty of Pangkor.[1]

[1] The material for this story has been collected from several official publications, to which I am indebted, and from *Perak Papers*.

CHAPTER XX

SELANGOR

298. The case of Selangor is interesting in that it was pulled out of the fire by the almost unaided efforts of a Kedah Malay. In about the year 1743 a descendant of Bugis pirates sought and obtained from the Sultan of Perak the rank and title of Sultan of Selangor. After some time, Selangor, though still nominally one State, split up into five more or less independent parts:—Langat, Klang, Bernam, Lukut and Selangor: the successions of each being the subject of the usual intrigues. In the chaos that ensued, the Sultan, an indolent man with vicious sons, did the one wise act of his life in handing over the whole country in 1868 to his son-in-law Tuan-ku Dziyai'd-din or Dia-Udin, a prince of Kedah who had come to live with him. This prince, hereafter known as the 'Viceroy,' was a man of resolution and ability.[1]

299. Naturally, he was subject to the jealousy of the Sultan's sons, and that of the sub-chiefs—particularly the Chief of Klang, who was called Raja Mahdi. With Raja Mahdi, the Viceroy speedily came into conflict, and defeated him after an eighteen-months' siege. But the driving away of a Malay Chief is such a normal event that it causes the fugitive little

[1] *Papers on Malay Subjects.*

inconvenience. Breeding counts amongst the Malays, and will always command a following. Raja Mahdi soon asserted himself at Selangor itself—the easy-going Sultan being really indifferent to anything—and his piratical proceedings resulted in a not too successful punitive expedition by a British warship. However, as Raja Mahdi was in arms against the Sultan's Viceroy, the State of Selangor was not held to be responsible. A British officer was sent to enquire into the affair in 1871, and was so favourably impressed with the Viceroy's dispassionate attitude that the countenance of the British was promised in any steps he might take to restore order in Selangor. Nevertheless, when the Viceroy was soon faced with a Civil War, and when Raja Mahdi, supported by the Sultan of Johore, appealed to Singapore, he (Raja Mahdi) met with unaccountable sympathy there !

300. In the fighting that ensued the Viceroy's situation became critical. In 1872 his garrison at Kuala Lumpur, which was commanded by a European called Hagen, was isolated. Hagen made two efforts to cut his way out to the coast, but his entire force was destroyed or captured. He himself was taken prisoner, and was subsequently 'slaughtered like an animal.' That is, his throat was cut, and he was left to bleed to death. Then his head, together with that of his second-in-command, an Italian called

Cavalieri, was paraded round Kuala Lumpur on a pole.

301. However, the Viceroy's affairs at Kuala Lumpur were fortunately restored by his allies, the Pahang Chiefs, who brought a force across the mountains to his assistance. Amongst the correspondence found on the recapture of Kuala Lumpur was a letter from the Sultan to the rebels, encouraging them against his own Viceroy. He too was seeking a winner. However, the timely support of the Pahang Chiefs enabled the Viceroy to terminate the war in 1873, and Raja Mahdi died of consumption soon afterwards.

302. The instability of the Sultan, and the countenance he had given to the rebels, led to the introduction of a British Resident—the appointment of Residents, as we have seen, having been decided upon. The Resident chosen was Mr. Davison, a personal friend and supporter of the brave Viceroy Tuan-ku Dziyai'd-din. So passed Selangor into the way of peace.

CHAPTER XXI

THE NEW WAY

A.D. 1896–1926

303. By 1896, British advice and administration had redeemed the Malay Peninsula from disorder; and in that year was effected the amalgamation of several States—Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negri Sembilan—into a Federation. Thus it is that there are three separate forms of Government in British Malaya to-day. These are:—

The British Straits Settlements—Penang with Province Wellesley, the Dindings, Malacca and Singapore. These are British territory.

Federated Malay States (*F.M.S.*)—Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negri Sembilan. These are British protected and administered.

The Non-Federated Malay States—Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Johore. These are British protected and advised.

304. The term 'British Malaya' includes all the above, as well as a few scattered islands like the Christmas Islands, the Cocos and Keelings off Java (governed by Ceylon up to 1882), and Labuan off Borneo (administered by the North Borneo Company up till 1906).

305. The seed of all the prosperity now so much in evidence lay, as we have seen, in the Treaty of

Pangkor. In 1874 the interior of the Peninsula was almost entirely unknown, and the maps of that period are practically blank but for the names of the States and the rivers. From disorder and bankruptcy, the country has been brought to security and affluence. Enterprise has flourished: the natural wealth of the soil has poured forth. There are now 1500 miles of railway, 2500 miles of excellent road, 1,200,000 acres under rubber, and a yearly export of tin worth five and a half million sterling from the F.M.S. alone.

306. And yet, in spite of all this, there is a certain reaction against Federation. It has one fault—it is too perfect. There is a danger that super-efficiency may become irksome to a people unprepared for it: and that the British element—which is the backbone of the whole structure—may lose its British qualities.

307. The fact is that the genius of the British is to improvise: to meet crises with novel measures. As a race we possess to an outstanding degree the qualities of initiative, of public honesty and of winning confidence. When conditions cease to demand those qualities we are no longer outstandingly successful. And we degenerate till some explosion restores us to usefulness. We are at our best with our backs to the wall, or at any rate British officers of the right type must have a cause to cherish.

308. Therefore our beginnings are always the best

—for our success carries within it the germ of its own destruction. We have not learnt when to stop. The marvellous machine we create makes a new and hopeful world: but all too soon initiative is killed with laws and telegraphs, and human sympathy dies of overwork and correspondence. We become clerks —and pretty bad ones.

309. When this stage is reached—in India, Burma or Egypt—everybody knows it. Everybody knows the cause. But so far there has never arisen a man to deal with it—probably because there has not yet been a smash sufficiently startling to arouse our latent qualities.

310. And the memories of human beings are marvellously short. See this little town—anywhere in the F.M.S.—recently deserted by the population: the site of ruthless bloodshed and plunder. It is now the centre of immaculate roads carrying hundreds of motors. The daily torrent of rain merely flushes its streets, for the water is carried off by an elaborate system of brick channels. The very recreation grounds rest on a network of drains. There are no bogs. There is no mud. Oil is squirted about every morning, so that there are no flies, no mosquitoes. Shaded trees rain down a carpet of blossom on the roads. Everywhere there are gardens, flowers and electricity. The prevailing note is trimness. Money

is plentiful, and is spent wisely, freely and even affectionately. There is no wall of official obstruction: and the ruling policy is to 'get on with it.' And while there is obvious wealth, there is apparently no abject poverty. Life is easy in these sunny, rain-drenched tropics. In these ideal surroundings how easy it is to forget!

311. Tin mining, not agriculture, is the steady and reliable source of the country's wealth. Tea and tobacco were never a great success; coffee had its day, but has been supplanted by rubber. The first rubber seeds are said to have been sown experimentally in 1887 by Sir Hugh Low, but the trees were long neglected because no one knew how to tap them. To see the endless miles of rubber that now extend almost unbroken from Penang to Malacca makes it hard to believe that the tree was imported less than forty years ago. The Rubber Tree has its place amongst the historical incidents of the Peninsula. Its extraordinary financial success—if only temporary—at least lifted Malaya above all sordid considerations of ways and means. The rapid growth of communications (with all that that entailed), and the introduction of various luxuries and amenities, is largely due to the rubber boom of 1910 when rubber rose to twelve shillings a pound. The subsequent slump—which is only temporary—is due partly to

overplanting, and partly to the generally unsettled conditions after the Great War. Rubber has given British Malaya a splendid start. India and Burma—those chronic paupers—are left simply nowhere by trim, neat Malaya, who, with a surplus revenue amongst bankrupts, is free to indulge her enlightened tastes in transport, housing, water, lighting, sanitoria, sanitation, gardens and museums. How easy in these circumstances to forget all the miseries of a sordid past !

312. But the Chinese, at any rate, are not likely to prove forgetful. They can get experience of chaos any day by going home. Therefore they are wholeheartedly for progress, and greedy to avail themselves of opportunities. Give them a road, and they will put the cars on it; clear an area, and they will exploit it. Wherever there are openings, there the diligent Chinaman pushes his business.

313. Are we to have progress of this sort in Malaya, or are we to hope for a generation of short-sighted schoolboys, fed on Shelley's ' Ode to the Lark,' who regard through their spectacles the glorious reign of Abdullah ?—just as students in Burma (whose great-grandparents were sprinkled with kerosene and set on fire) now look back regretfully to the great days of Bodaw Paya. May there arise, even in the Colonial Office, a benevolent Montagu to lead—nay, to drive—

the oppressed communities of this country to the blessings of the ballot box? Is it possible that the harsh bureaucrats of our local administration may so far reform as to acquiesce in such progress until they stand defenceless and impotent before the accusing howls of the VIIth Standard? May we not hope for a Zaghlul, a Ghandi, or at least an U Ottama, to wreck happiness and trade, and introduce a nice cantankerous atmosphere of grievance?

314. Whichever road progress takes, a responsibility rests with each one of us individually. Are we accepting our responsibilities as individuals? Or are we drifting out of touch with the people of the country? Are we engrossed in a ceaseless round of frivolity? Is the Malaya we inhabit a make-believe, with a few property words like *stengah* and *barang*, and the scene laid in a club bar? God forbid! It was not the way of Raffles. It is not the way in which Empires are built up or sustained: and here there would be less excuse than elsewhere, for the Malays are charming, and their language is easy. The adjustment of social matters is always difficult. New generations have new ideals: life grows more and more complex—but there are certain axioms of Good-will, Sympathy and Study, that are enduring. They may not be neglected with impunity.

CHAPTER XXII

CHINESE RELATIONS WITH MALAYA

315. The Chinese, who now form one-third of the population of the Malay Peninsula, and whose industry and enterprise have contributed so materially to the Archipelago as a whole, have visited these countries from ancient times. The first references in literature to Kedah (sixth century) and Langkawi are by Chinese travellers. Adventurous junks carried on an extensive trade, and Chinese immigrants settled on many of the islands. The earliest reference to Borneo occurs in the history of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–906), where it is called Polo or Pala.[1] Kublai Khan sent an expedition of several thousand junks thither in 1292: and later there may have been some form of Chinese government. At any rate, such civilization as Borneo possessed was partly of Chinese origin. We have seen that the Portuguese in 1521 reported large Chinese communities in Brunei, and have noted their influence on the Dusun and others.

316. However, the growth of piracy, the dislocation of old trade routes caused by the advent of Europeans and the disastrous policy of monopoly had reduced this once flourishing Chinese commerce to ruin by A.D. 1600.

" The Portuguese first, and subsequently the Dutch,

[1] *Chinese Review*, July and August, 1812.

A CHINESE TEMPLE

There are beautiful temples all over the Malay Peninsula. This one is in Taiping, and is possibly one of the oldest. In 1924 a tiger entered the town and carried off a man from this temple.

made treaties with Malay Chiefs which enabled them to undersell the Junk Masters. By posting 'Guardas de costas,' they compelled traders to send produce intended for China to Malacca and Batavia, a policy that destroyed direct trade by means of junks."

Further—and this was even more serious—the supply of Chinese immigrants was cut off to the detriment of all concerned.

317. On the whole, early Europeans distrusted the Chinese. The Dutch were openly jealous of them in Java. In Sarawak they nearly upset Raja Brooke's government, and they did burn his capital, so that they were not particularly popular with him. That entertaining traveller Ong-taè-haé tells us that as late as 1785 the regulations of Penang "are oppressive and unfriendly, so that the Chinese of that place, being unable to endure them, have moved elsewhere." This was possibly one of the causes why Penang was not at first a financial success.

318. The first Europeans to appreciate the value of the Chinese in the Archipelago appear to have been the Dutch in Borneo, where, in time, Chinese were given high Government appointments, and where the Chinese community was largely administered by its own leaders, thus preventing the growth of hostile secret societies. In the Malay Peninsula the satisfactory development of the Chinese seems to have

originated in the enlightened policy of Sir Stamford Raffles. From time to time, however, Chinese '*Huehs*' or Secret Societies, have caused serious disturbances. They are in the hands of highly violent and unscrupulous persons, and are recruited by threats of assassination. There was an outbreak in Singapore in 1857, 'Secret Societies' being now registered there. This was the same year in which they nearly overthrew the Sarawak Government—Societies being now absolutely prohibited in Sarawak. In 1884, and again in 1889, they threatened Dutch rule in Borneo: and it was only the presence of the Dutch in Java that saved the Malays there from a rising in the seventeenth century. The unscrupulous fury of their dissensions is exhibited in the Perak affair of 1873, when Larut was absolutely wrecked. Even to-day underground societies, with memberships of 20,000, are suspected of being responsible for much of the crime in Singapore.

319. However, these outbreaks weigh as nothing against the good, honest hard work that the Chinese put into a country. They were the pioneers on many of the best mining sites, not only here but in Burma too: and their thriftiness, diligence and sagacity have done as much as anything else to develop the riches and prosperity of British Malaya.

(*Major Pearse*)

IMPORTS

The Chinese form one-third of the population of the Malay Peninsula. They have done as much as anyone to encourage trade.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE MODERN POPULATION OF BRITISH MALAYA

320. The population of British Malaya, as shown in the Census Report for 1921, is 3,358,054. During the previous decade there was a large increase, due not to an improvement of the birth-rate, but to immigration. Indeed, deaths outnumbered births, the influenza epidemic having carried off not less than 40,000 persons, or approximately one in every eighty. From this and other causes there would have been a decrease instead of a 25 per cent increase but for the stream of Indian and Chinese immigrants ever pouring into the country. More than 45 per cent of the population to-day were not born in the Peninsula.

321. Immigration is mainly from three sources—Java, India and China. Java (with a population of over 31,000,000) is one of the most thickly peopled countries in the world, and between Java and Sumatra there has been a long-established intercourse with the Peninsula. Javanese and Sumatrans are practically Malays, who come to settle permanently; and in this respect differ from the remaining classes.

322. The Indians are largely Tamils and Telugus from Southern India—thrifty, noisy, uninteresting people, but on the whole inoffensive: with a sprinkling of Punjabis, Pathans and Sikhs—the last, by

reason of their grasping, acquisitive and disgruntled qualities, not so harmless. The Tamils come to do coolie work, the Punjabis to keep their inevitable cows. In the decade ending 1921, no less than 908,000 of them crowded over to the Peninsula. Within the same period 562,000 returned to India. It is estimated that their average residence is only three years, and not one in a thousand comes with the intention of staying. Luckily, in a Mohammedan country, their presence is less disastrous than in Buddhist Burma, where they form alliances with the women and leave behind an undesirable breed. Here, in the Peninsula, the blood of the indigenous Malays is at least not contaminated, nor is their very existence threatened. Further, a wise Government has introduced legislation to prevent the alienation of land from the Malays, and to protect a thriftless people from the rapacity of the Indian money-lender. By these measures the landed Malay peasants are saved from becoming a horde of landless coolies which has been the sad fate of so many Burmese. The total number of Indians present at the time of the Census was 472,000, showing an increase of 76 per cent for the decade, and representing 14 per cent of the population of British Malaya.

323. The case of the Chinese is different. Labour of some sort is essential to development, and the

Chinaman is eminently suitable not only by reason of his qualities, but because his Mongolian origin particularly fits him for residence in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Chinese form the bulk of the trading, shop-keeping and labouring classes: and in the Straits Settlements are nearly twice as numerous as any other community. The supply depends largely on conditions in China: a bad harvest there being always followed by an increased immigration into Malaya. They are now the second most numerous race in the Peninsula as a whole, with 1,175,000 as compared with 1,651,000 Malays.

324. The earliest Chinese immigrants probably came from Amoy, and Dr. Shellabear points out that:—

" Nearly all the words of Chinese origin which have entered the Malay language, are closer to the Hokkien than to any other dialect: while the old Baba families, who are responsible for the corrupt but popular Baba Malay, claim to be Hokkiens."

325. The present Chinese population of British Malaya consists chiefly of Hokkiens, Cantonese, Tie Chius, Khehs and Hailams. Of these, the Hokkiens furnish 32 per cent of the whole. Branches of this race are the Hok Chius and Hok Chias, who supply most of the rickshaw pullers. The Cantonese, with 28 per cent, are the strongest Chinese community in

the Federated States, where they, and the Khehs, provide most of the labour in the tin mines.

326. It must be remembered that all these races of China are as different from each other, and have as distinct languages, as the nations of Europe; and each more or less monopolizes certain definite trades. These distinctions are apt to be forgotten by foreigners, to whom they all seem to look and talk the same. The Hailams, who are comparatively few, supply almost all the domestic servants, except in Johore and Malacca, where they also engage in agriculture. A great disability under which they live is the prohibition placed upon the departure of women from their island home. Such Hailam women as there are in Malaya are really Straits-born daughters of Hailam men by Cantonese or Tie Chiu wives.[1]

327. Like the Indians, the Chinese incline to return home, taking their wealth with them. In the decade ending in 1921 nearly a million Chinese left the Peninsula. Their tendency to permanent settlement is, however, more marked than is the case with Indians. Return to China is more difficult, and the political situation disturbed. The number of immigrant women increases—a hopeful sign: and this provides for a

[1] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the population of Burma having decreased alarmingly, women were not permitted to leave that country.

(*F. W. Major*)

A TAIPING TEMPLE

The Chinese are now the second most numerous race in the Malay Peninsula, numbering 1,175,000 as compared with 1,651,000 Malays. Their influence is naturally very strong in the country.

growing community of Straits-born Chinese. The Chinese, in spite of the shortage of women, have a proportionately greater birth-rate than the Indians, and the opinion expressed in the Census Report is that " undoubtedly the ideal of a settled Malay-born community is far nearer realization in the case of the Chinese than of the Indians."

328. Lastly, we have to consider the Malays who have given their name to the Peninsula, and who are the most numerous race, though not by very much. As we have seen, they seem to have come from Palembang and Menangkabau in Sumatra, whence they overran not only the Peninsula, but much of the Archipelago. They appear to originate from Indo-China: but the problem remains elusive, though scientific investigation will no doubt raise the veil some day, as in so many other obscure cases.

329. The Malays found in all parts of the Peninsula are more or less homogeneous. There is no essential difference between those of Kedah and those of Johore. And they extend all over the Indo-Malayan half of the Archipelago. To view them correctly as a racial unit, it is necessary to dismiss from the mind artificial divisions such as Dutch or British territory which mean little to the Malays, just as in Burma tribes astride the frontier have, for all practical purposes, always been independent of our arbitrary boundaries.

330. Seated at ease in his little *Kampong*, the Malay seems indolently to watch the World go by, without concerning himself much with its affairs. That such is actually his mental attitude is largely true: but few can realize the revolution that this race, in common with many others, has undergone within the space of two generations. In that period they have passed from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century. In their hearts they still cherish many a strange superstition. They who watch the cars go past their houses believe firmly that to pickle a man's brain in lemon-juice is to be able to control the spirit in another world —and where is the difficulty of adding lemon-juice to a human brain? On the whole, if one thinks about it, the ease and resignation with which vast changes have been accepted shows no small power of adaptability. For the Malay is essentially conservative. He reads little, travels little: and even in these days of cars and railways there are thousands in the '*Ulu*' who have never in their lives been more than a few miles from their quiet homes. "The only ground for misgiving," says Sir Frank Swettenham in a recent article, "is whether development may not have been too rapid."

331. And that they have not been brought to the blessings of our civilization without some faint protest, the following letter clearly shows. It is dated 'Kuala Lumpur':—

RICE FIELDS

Kedah and Kelantan are the only States in the Peninsula that supply their own needs in rice. Elsewhere the country is given up to rubber and tin. Nothing could be more beautiful than the rich green areas of rice, with distant hills and clouds behind.

"SIR,

"Not because I distrust you but because you kept quiet with the cheque within yourself, the natural deduction any man can arrive at is that the proper channel should be sought for. Hence the query.

"I am quite in the dark as to how you constructed *Distrust*. If you had let me know that you had my pay and then, were I to write to you as I did, you would have had an hypothesis, or rather a base. As things stand at present I do not make out the how, the why, or the wherefore.

"Pardon me if I offend you in any way. An offence after all every man will have to undergo for the double reason (a) that vitality should be kept up (vitality in contra-distinction to starvation): and (b) that the whole sum and substance of non-enquiry will not amount to self-sacrifice.

"Once more I hope and request that you will please forgive the Pay Intervention Policy which has had to be run the same risk over if the same thing were to recur."

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332. Nothing could be more clear. Without a hypothesis, or rather a base, how can the Malay possibly make out the how, the why and the wherefore?

CHAPTER XXIV

COUNTRYSIDE AND TOWN

333. Having unravelled this Legend of Malay from about 20 million B.C. through the ages of molten rock, lost continents, vegetable and animal growths, primitive man, Proto Malays, Portuguese, Dutch, British and so up to the finished Malay article, let us take ship and car, and seek rest from facts and dates in some of the delightful beauty spots of the Peninsula.

334. We will first tour the west coast, taking a little steamer from Penang which arrives at the islands of Langkawi at midnight. The coast is unlighted, and navigation on that account a little tricky: but you can discern the dim outline of a hill-locked sea. A sampan receives you into the darkness, and next morning you find you have slept in a magnificent rest-house, and that there is bathing on a charming little beach. It is yet dawn, and a calm, glassy sea laps whisperingly upon the sand. Ah! who could forget that enchanted hour?

335. The Langkawi Islands lie off the coast of Kedah, Gunong Raya (2800 feet) being the highest peak of the group. At the western end of the largest island the quartzite cape of Tanjong Tukang Raja, with waterfalls cascading down its face, affords some wonderful scenery. Indeed, the whole of this close-set cluster of islands with its bold granites, its weird

limestones, its wooded hills and calm, blue seas, is utterly fascinating.

336. Langkawi, with an area of 140 square miles, is the largest of about fifty islands, of which some are mere rocks. The next largest ones—Pulau Dayang and Pulau Tuba—are separated from Langkawi by about a mile of sea, and from each other by a channel only a few yards wide. The white saccharoid marble of Dayang Bunting is of the best statuary quality. The Group has the same geological features as the mountains of the mainland: and a slight elevation would join the islands to each other and to the Kedah coast. In this charming little archipelago there are endless passages to explore by launch and sampan, where cliffs rise sheer from the sea. The feet of these precipices are greatly undercut, so that the rising tide makes a curious sucking noise. Islands of normal appearance at high water are so undercut on all sides that they are unapproachable at low tide, when the rock projects outwards for 20 feet or more. But, of course, there are innumerable coves and sandy beaches where, in shallow water, the sea is positively hot under the sun.

337. Probably the earliest reference to Langkawi is by Chinese travellers of the sixth century. There are also charts, known to date from about the fifteenth century, and thought to have been used on the voyage

of the Chinese Envoy Cheng Ho, when he visited Malacca in 1405. The antiquity of these charts is confirmed by the reference to Singapore by its earliest Malay name of Tumasik (on the Chinese map *Tan-ma-seith*). On the same chart is the first known reference to Penang, 'Pulau Pinang' being marked *Ping-laug-seu*. After it comes *Keih-ta-kiang* (evidently the Kedah river): and then *Lung-ya-Kiao-yi*, or Langkawi.

338. Little is known of the fauna of these islands, and the Lepidoptera appears not to have been described. Many interesting and distinguished butterflies occur, notably Papilios *Palinurus* and *Doubledayi*—the one shining green: the other black with white splays and touches of scarlet on the lower wing, and with the most elegant and fragile tails. *Doubledayi* is always a show specimen in good collections, but its range is quite local. (It occurs at Anak Karau, near Taiping.) *Elymnias Fratana* (female), the mimic of *Danais plexippus*, was obtained; and also two magnificent Euthalia—*bellata goodrichi*, which is black with a vertical line of green plates, and *lubentina cherionesia*, which is green with lovely vermilion marks.

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339. A few miles away, on the mainland, stands Kedah Peak, known to the Malays as Gunong Jarai;

and here, at 3000 feet, is another splendid bungalow fitted with telephones and electric light. It overlooks in one direction a shelving coast and the green rice-fields of Alor Star towards the mountains of Perlis; and in the other the open sea, where in the misty distance lies the Langkawi Group, with other islands nearer inshore. Of these, one, on account of its shape, is called Bunting ('The Pregnant Mother'), and another Panggil ('The Messenger'), who looks as if he is speeding off to call the midwife.

340. Kedah Peak is 4000 feet, an easy climb: but on the far side the mountain falls away in a magnificent line of precipices from whose wind-swept brow you look down on to tree-tops, and across the misty Straits to where a rift in the clouds discloses a floor of turquoise sea, with the fair Island of Penang beyond. In the chill air thousands of swifts with sickle wings skim the mountain-top at incredible speed, issuing from a vortex of mist, and losing themselves again in it.

341. In spite of its height, Kedah Peak has less interesting butterflies than the adjacent Islands of Langkawi. The most distinguished are Papilios *Helenus* and *Iswara*, and the orange-winged moth *Milionia zonea* whose range is somewhat restricted. The electric lights attract hordes of dull little moths of the Orders *Lasiocampidae* and *Stictopterinae*, with an occasional fine Spingid like *Theretra suffusa* and

Chaerocampa celerio. A Hesperid I caught—*Hidari standingeri* (brown with orange plates)—is probably the second known specimen. Of the flowers on Kedah Peak, some of the ground-orchids are of great beauty, and the pitcher-plants are varied and curious.

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342. Penang itself is a pretty harbour, whether bathed in sunrise, or lit by sunset. The quaint Chinese streets of the town: the shaded residential quarters where wealthy Chinese have their palaces: the great temple at Ayer Itam, with its fish ponds and be-dragoned roofs: the Botanical Gardens with their red-stemmed palms and reservoir—all these things make Penang an attractive little place for a holiday in the water-side hotels. Beneath the casuarina trees, the waves lap gently on the sea-wall, while brown-sailed junks drift slowly by, and an occasional liner makes a stately passage to or from the ports of the world.

343. Away from the town the roads are shaded by many graceful trees which in May display a perfect riot of colour—yellow of Cassia and Angsana, scarlet of Gold Mohur and purple of Jakanalia mimosaefolia. The Botanical Gardens are two or three miles out in a hill-locked valley. Here Art and Nature are mingled with consummate skill. Upon the immacu-

PENANG

This illustration, and the next, are produced from some rare prints published by Captain Robert Smith in 1821. Here is seen the original appearance of the Bay which is now faced with the hotels and other large buildings of Penang.

late lawns grow all manner of stately and beautiful trees, flowering shrubs, bamboo and palms.

344. 'The Crag' is 2000 feet up on the hill-tops above Penang, and from there you look down along wooded spurs that at dawn are lost in a silver sea of mist. At sunrise the mists dissolve, revealing the Straits, streaked and veined with rich marine colours, and sparkling in the morning sunshine: while beyond rise the mountains of Kedah and Bukit Mertajam, fading away in the south to Bukit Merah, the Larut Hills and Gunong Bubu. Well may the first Malays have cried '*Malayu*'—The Mountains!! In time one learns to love these *Bukits* and *Gunongs*, with all their varying moods between angry storm and placid sunset—changeful as women but far more restful.

345. In the foreground, far below, lies Penang with its dots of fishing fleets beyond the mountain brink of rocks, cypress and flower-beds. It would be difficult to imagine a picture more fair than this blending of landscape and seascape, jungle and garden.

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346. From Penang another steamer takes you a night's run south to the dear little Island of Pangkor off the Dindings coast, where you may live an unconventional life in vest and shorts on the sands of a

summer sea, watch the nets come in laden with the wonders of tropical waters, or bathe at dawn or in

the moonlight. At Pangkor, as we know, a lot of important people signed a treaty: but now the sands belong to children for purposes of spades, buckets and

PENANG FROM THE HEIGHTS

This aspect of Penang Harbour is from a print called 'View from Halliburton's Hill.' The one in the previous illustration is called 'View from Mount Erskine and Pulo Ticoose Bay.' The originals were lent me by Major Pearse. Penang Hill is still clothed in splendid forests.

castles. Who shall forget the haunting memories of Pangkor—the early stroll along the shell-strewn shore, the ebb and flow of the tides, the sparkling of blue seas and the flaming retreat of day before the advance of a radiant moonlit night?

347. Pangkor Island is six miles long, with wooded peaks rising to 1200 feet. It is a little difficult to get at, but there is a daily launch from the mainland at Lumut, and a Penang steamer touches weekly. From the landing place on the east side a path leads across the island through a gap in the hills to the seaward side where there is a lovely sand-beach, fringed with trees amongst which are situated half a dozen bungalows, or huts. I took one of these in 1924, and made it my *pied-à-terre* for tours to all parts of the Peninsula, returning to my beach and flinging off my clothes whenever I was tired of the World and Travel. At one end of the bay is a wooded promontory where you play pirates and drink tea: and at the other a pile of fascinating rocks where receding tides leave the most entertaining shells, weeds, shrimps, crabs and little fish. A mile out to sea the small islands of Pangkor Laut and Turtle Island protect the bay from heavy waves, and also it seems from sharks, crocodiles and jelly fish. As a matter of fact, no Malayan waters are really safe. There are crocodiles up every river, and sharks along all the coasts. An acquaintance told

me of a curious thing seen in a bit of water where he was contemplating a swim. Within a few yards he came on a 15-foot shark which was floating damaged on the surface. Approaching close in his launch, he saw that it was being attacked by two 9-foot sharks and by possibly five hundred baby sharks. The water was positively alive with them. An unfortunate European girl was attacked and killed by a shark near Singapore in 1925.

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348. Farther south again is another seaside resort at Port Dickson with an M.S.V.R. Camp, where wealthy planters play at being private soldiers. Here also are fine sands at Magnolia Bay, with good bathing in a large staked enclosure when the tide is in. There are several sanitoriums, and many private houses along the coast. The actual port itself is a pretty little town so buried in trees that the Chinese streets are dim with shadows even at midday. They must be paved with gold when the Angsana are in bloom.

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349. Still farther south, beneath the Southern Cross, lies Malacca. Malacca! Venerable, decayed: with the dignity of Legend: with the charm of a past romance: with the ruins of a roofless cathedral upon

(*F. W. Majer*)

A TROPICAL MOON

In these warm seas it is often delightful to bathe by moonlight. Such nights remain as landmarks in one's memory for ever.

its green hill where past generations of Portugal, Holland and England sleep in the sunshine of the nave beneath their heraldry and their virtues. Malacca with a silted sea, streaked with turquoise, and barred with shafts of sunlit water. Malacca with its high-pitched, red-tiled roofs: its rambling streets so unlike the tape-laid, mushroom towns inland. Ancient gates and bastions speak mutely of a tale that is told, and tablets strive to recall to heedless generations the glories that are no more.

350. Malacca is now largely a Chinese town, with interesting residential streets. Wealth has not altogether departed. The houses are on a narrow front but run far back; and as you pass there are glimpses of rich interiors, gilded altars, blackwood furniture, porcelain and polished floors, suggesting homes of luxury and comfort.

351. But on St. Paul's Hill above, Time sleeps within what is left of Albuquerque's fortress of 'La Famosa.' The gate of the Santiago Bastion is still intact. In the cathedral a plate marks the spot where lay the body of St. Francis Xavier until its translation to Goa in 1553. And as you sit on the turf by these creeper-grown walls looking out to sea, the thought comes how Moulmein, Mergui, Tavoy and Malacca were great and famous when Rangoon, Penang and Singapore were mere villages. Now has glory passed

from the one group to the other. There remains with the first only the halo of romance, and the serenity that belongs to old age. They watch the ships that pass—these ports of an ancient fame—without jealousy. They strive not at all to regain their place in the sun. They have their past glory, their legend, their tale that is told.

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352. So much for the west coast. Let us now take car and go inland. Right down the length of the Peninsula is the central backbone of high granite mountains, with subsidiary ranges more or less parallel, and separated from the main range and from each other by broad fertile plains. From the hills to the sea on either side are the great rivers—on the west the Kedah, Perak and Selangor, or 'Calang,' from which the modern States take their names: and on the east the Patani, Kelantan and Trengganu. Fifty years ago, before the country was opened up, these rivers were the chief highways, and the only means of approach. As a rule they are tidal for a short way. Higher up they are stately streams with densely wooded banks: and they rise in a number of torrents that come brawling down in rocky beds from the mountains.

353. The importance of the rivers as a means of communication has, however, passed away, except for native boats and travelling shops: for right down the

(F. W. Major)

PALMS AND A SUMMER SEA

Illustrations have been given of Casuarina and Mangrove coasts. But palms by a summer sea are the keynote of Malacca.

west side of the Peninsula there is now a complete system of roads and railways, with branches to the coast at Port Weld, Telok Anson, Port Dickson and Malacca. The first railway was the twelve-mile section from Port Weld to Taiping, built in 1883. Port Weld was the place at which travellers then entered Perak. In those days the journey from Taiping to Ipoh—now lightly undertaken by car for a game of tennis—was a serious business, first by road to Kuala Kangsa, then by river to Parit, and then by road again to Ipoh. Before even those days, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the port of Perak was at Trong.

354. The F.M.S. Railway is metre gauge, and there are now 1500 miles of well-laid track. The trains are on the corridor system, and very comfortably equipped with dining-cars and sleepers. At Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur (the Federal Capital) the stations, with their luxurious hotels, are positively magnificent: but elsewhere they are flower-lined platforms that partake of the general trimness and neatness of this green and immaculate country.

355. The roads of the Peninsula can only be described as 'wonderful.' In places they are faced with asphalt for miles, and are everywhere suitable for the thousands of cars that ply along them. In every little town there is a stand of taxis. The bridges, by

comparison, are less excellent. They belong to the era of the rubber slump: but still they are good enough; and the Island of Singapore is now joined to the mainland by a truly noble causeway.

356. Travelling from north to south by rail or road one sees comparatively little jungle. It remains in its virgin condition in the '*Ulus*,' or uplands, and on the mountains beyond, but on the plains it has been replaced by miles of rubber trees and cocoanuts whose neat regularity, spreading as it does from Penang to Negri Sembilan, is apt to be monotonous. South of that, in Johore, the forest comes into its own again. But these endless ranks of rubber, and the tin that lies in the soil 20 feet below them, constitute the wealth of the country—the tin a steady, moderate income: the rubber given to booms and slumps, most attractive and exasperating. There was a time when no one could resist rubber. Every spare corner was planted, with the result that the output has had to be 'Restricted.' Yet, in spite of this, vast new areas are being cleared and planted. Obviously there are people who still believe: and should there be a demand, it is certain that British Malaya could pour out from its untapped trees an inexhaustible supply of latex.

357. At intervals there are little brick towns—usually of one or two streets, the shops faced with

continuous verandahs or arcades, most suitable to a wet climate. Their uniform appearance has made these townships very typical of the F.M.S., and they are inhabited almost exclusively by industrious Chinese.

358. In the country between the towns are scattered villages and isolated homesteads—the *Kampongs* of the Malays, where the shadows are cool by day, and where at night fires twinkle in the quickly gathering dusk. Here a charming, passionate, indulgent, indolent population smokes the *rocos* of undiluted peace. Seated on its doorsteps it watches in patient wonder the fret and worry of the Twentieth Century and its motors, and waits for its durians and cocoanuts to drop with a thud on the shaded ground, where more energetic people will pay to come and pick them up. Everywhere there are signs of prosperity. The very dogs are sleek: the land is always green, always flowering in a perpetual and comfortable summer. Even for the poor there are food, smokes and gay silk *sarongs*. Blessed are they who are born close down to the equator.

"Oh, ye palms! that rise
Eager to pierce the sky and drink the wind
Blown from Malaya and the cool blue seas,
What secret know ye that ye grow content,
From time of tender shoot to time of fruit,
Murmuring such sun-songs from your feathered crowns?"

LIGHT OF ASIA.

. . . . . .

359. Then, at longer intervals, as you motor down this favoured land, you come to the greater towns, of which the first is Taiping—that 'City of Lasting Peace,' whose Angsana trees shower a golden rain of blossom upon the streets. It lies in flat ground immediately at the foot of the Larut Hills that rise 4000 feet above it with a waterfall and a bathing-pool at their feet. Its Public Gardens are the prettiest in the Federated States—the Lakes fringed with those same Rain Trees that surround the Moat at Mandalay, its grounds scattered with casuarina, palm and golden-bamboo, its vistas dominated always by the distant uplands of Bubu—the 'Fish Trap Peak'—Bubu backed with a pile of high white clouds, or radiant in the sunset glow, with perhaps a rainbow flung from it across the Larut Hills. A common phenomenon at dusk is the return of daylight from behind low clouds out at sea, the hills and forest foliage being then radiated with a suffused 'Alpine glow.'

360. Upon the Larut Hills, 4000 feet above Taiping, and nine miles distant by bridle-path, is the charming little retreat called Maxwell's Hill. The mule track rises steeply to it through a dense and stately forest, laced with creepers, and with the great trees rising from an impenetrable undergrowth. The Sanatorium consists of a garden and a dozen Government bungalows—one or two of them almost palatial

THE PUBLIC GARDENS OF TAIPING

These Gardens are the prettiest in the whole of the Federated Malay States. Above the vistas of lawn and lake rises the noble peak of Gunong Bubu.

—where the sick and weary may recuperate. From this high ridge Taiping is seen at one's feet in the plain, half buried in foliage, and surrounded by patches of glistening water where, from Matang to Kamunting, the tin dredgers toil without ceasing night and day. Beyond Bukit Merah, the shadowy lines of Penang Island are visible in the distance. A lovely panorama it is, and soothing, with the bays and capes of the coast spread out, and the sea streaked with touches of sunshine to the line of little white clouds strung along the horizon. As at the ' Crag,' you get that same contrast—geraniums, morning glory, a bed of red-hot pokers, and then an abyss—and the sea.

361. Taiping is almost entirely Chinese, which means that its streets are gay with Celestial sign-boards, stores and eating-shops, with their questionable sausages, and grim corpses of flattened fowls. There is a continual fusillade of crackers. A woman at a door is waving a loudly protesting baby in a fog of demon-dispersing incense. Over the way is an old man grinding knives, and by the lamp-post a dentist performs ' 20-cent extractions ' to an admiring crowd. The hawkers beat gongs and sticks, or play flutes or violins, to advertise their specialities, each according to his kind. I take my hat off to the willing, cheery rickshaw-pullers of Taiping. Only a few survive long, like ' Death ' who wrinkles up his

old face as if he understood, when you ask him "Where's your sting?" A park of twenty taxis adds a modern note. So does a Chinaman on a motor-bike with a girl (in semi-European dress) on the mudguard. Lastly, there is the poor, long-suffering push-bike that has fallen to the level of a load-carrier, and is taxed as such, and performs the most unnatural feats, piled high with boxes over the rider's head. Many Chinese prefer to sit on the hind mudguard and pedal from there, regardless of their absurd appearance. It is positively more usual to see two persons on a bike than one, and often as many as four are to be seen on one suffering machine, sedately taking the air in the gardens.

362. The bazaars in all these towns are much the same. Those of Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur are the biggest, but there is a uniform architecture giving every shop a front room and a share of the arcade that runs down each side of the street. The pawn-shops are, as one might say, the wholesale firms, selling a profusion of watches, diamond rings, ruby trinkets, old topis, amber cigarette holders, or celluloid cuffs. They testify mutely to the ups and downs of life that fickle fortune has dealt to a gambling community since rubber gardens fell from $900 to $250 an acre. These shops are fascinating enough to prowl about in. They are full of bargains in brass, silk, lacquer and all the

TAIPING

Taiping is largely a Chinese town, which means that its streets are gay with 'Celestial' signboards. Its eating-booths are stocked with questionable sausages, and with the tragically flattened corpses of fowls.

attractive rubbish of a Chinese town. Some of the cheap crockery is charming: some of the painting on rice-paper good. There exists a quantity of crackled china with dull blue and coloured patterns which is coarse, but is said to be genuinely of the Ming period. The locally mined tin is made up into solid heavy cigarette boxes and candlesticks that have the attractive appearance of pewter.

363. Southward, on its way to Kuala Kangsa, the main road lies through 'Kampongs,' and rises gently to a low passage of the Larut Hills by the Bukit Berapit Pass, known formerly as the Gapis Pass. Above Bukit Berapit the Burmese hill-tribe soldiers of Taiping (Kachins and Chins) were given a 3000-foot peak called Wray's Hill, where, since September, 1924, they have gradually built a little sanatorium. Let us turn aside into these forests for a moment. To appreciate the delight of Wray's Hill it must be understood that these hill-men are typical jungle folk, essentially at home and happy in a forest upland—and their enjoyment of the cool air, the freedom, the shooting and the timber cutting, remains my happiest memory of Malaya. After the preliminary clearing, I brought up my Kachin Company on the 3rd September, 1924, to build barracks, mess, dining huts and family quarters—all of wood and bamboo. With shelter thus provided, and with log-fires blazing on

every floor, we proceeded with secondary works—cook-houses, stables, sinks and incinerators: and then gradually added something at each subsequent visit—a road, a seat, a shooting gallery, a football ground: or we let in gorgeous views towards the uplands of Kuala Kangsa and Bubu, and towards the Malacca Straits—here a distant blue hill, there a vista of coast and sea.

364. The palm-roofed huts, the endless improvization to which the bamboo is turned in skilled hands—all this recalled vivid memories of Burma. But very characteristic of Malaya were the filigree of branches against white clouds, the pale evening sunshine on the tree trunks, the blue and fragrant smoke of fires, the mists eddying through the forests and thinning away in vistas of turquoise sea, the majestic approach of storms, and the incredible cracks of thunder.

365. And then the forest sounds! I suppose they are typical of all Indo-China—the Gibbons' morning hate, the wheezy flight of Hornbills, the hunting song of '*Yauk-hpa Kwe-kaw*,' the Cuckoo, the *tock* of Coppersmiths, the Hot-weather Bird's lament, the shrill of tree-crickets—all these are friendly sounds against the background of forest silence.

366. And while we worked at our clearing, letting in sunshine and air, and as the trees crashed

(Colonel Coleridge)

BUG-HUNTING IS QUITE A SPORTING PASTIME

Only a naturalist can appreciate the supreme excitement of the chase. The author, here shown missing a *Thaumantis*, is not really as handsome as depicted.

and sank into the undergrowth, Nature revealed many of her secrets. A wonderful collection of insects was acquired to which I have already referred—including the quaint Fiddle Beetle (found also in Borneo and Sumatra); the strange Horned Frog (*Megalophrys nasuta*) with darkly hooded eyes that I have seen also at 3000 feet in Upper Perak; the great hooting cicada *Pomponia imperatoria;* and endless stick insects, mantis, fulgoridae and beetles, many of which are highly coloured. The four most splendid of all these insects were a brown locustid, a great pink cricket and two Rhasinids. The first is most exceedingly rare, and the others are probably new. And Wray's Hill displayed that galaxy of rare and shining butterflies that haunt only the deepest forests—*Amathusia ; Thauria; Thaumantis* (*noureddin* and *odana*) ; *Zeuxidia*, (*amethystus* and *aurelius*); *Charaxes durnfordi*—all these are the great butterflies that leave you speechless with wonder.

The great spider which is about 6 or 7 inches across, and whose huge web is commonly seen in all Malayan and Burmese jungles, is the female of *Nephila maculata.* Curiously enough, it is polyandrous, the male being extremely small, and hardly larger than an ant. There is a vast number of Spiders in the Malay Peninsula—more than 250 kinds of jumpers: not to mention the Crab Spiders and

Web-spinners, and the so-called ' Bird-Eating Spiders' which, in fact, feed on cockroaches, etc. The last are of great size, and live in holes in banks, with a trap-door at the entrance. These big, hairy, ' Bird-Eating Spiders ' are chiefly nocturnal. Very little is known about Malayan Spiders, the best authority being Mr. Abraham of Taiping, to whom I am here indebted. Amongst the curiosities is a small spider that lives between the tide marks, spinning webs in crevices of stones, in which presumably air is retained when the creature is submerged. Another little spider found in the Kuala Lumpur Caves has the abdomen segmented. In this it differs from all other living forms, and its nearest relation appears to be a Carboniferous fossil spider.

The mimicry of spiders is almost more astonishing than that of the butterflies. Two kinds (*Misumeninae amyciaea* and *Attidae myrmarachne*) mimic red ants, the first mingling with the ants, seizing one, and dropping off with it on the end of a thread: the other (a jumper) simply seizing the ant and making off with it. In size and appearance they are hardly distinguishable from red ants. Another of the *Attidae* mimics the black ant. The female closely resembles it; but the male has enlarged mandibles, and looks like one ant carrying another. One of the Crab Spiders (*Phrynarachne decipiens* Forbes) spins a little

white splash of web on a leaf, and when seated on it, closely resembles bird-lime. It is said even to have cultivated a smell which attracts flies.

The habits of spiders are full of interest. Fertilization is done more or less 'by hand.' The way they have restocked the dead island of Krakatoa —presumably by flight—has been noticed: and it may be mentioned that even some non-spinners make 'flying carpets.' There is much evidence to show that spiders are highly cannibalistic. This tendency has been observed in Borneo, and also on Mt. Everest, where they live higher than any other creatures, and where there is positively nothing else to eat but each other.

367. And then the birds—the 'Crimson-winged Green Woodpecker'; the 'Black-and-yellow Broadbill' (*Eurylaemus ochromelas*, *Raffles*) with a blue beak, and a crushed-strawberry breast; the 'Green Broadbill' (*Calyptomena viridis*, *Raffles*); and above all the 'Flame-necked Pitta' (*Eucichla boschi*). I can convey no conception of the beauty of these and many others. One can only say of the Pitta that it has a rich yellow head turning orange-red on the nape. The throat is white, and the rest of the under plumage brilliant Oxford-blue, shining like enamel, and barred across the breast with shafts of fiery orange.

368. Three kinds of squirrels are common in these

woods—the Red-bellied Squirrel (*Sciurus mineatus*), the Blue-bellied (*S. concolor*), and that tremendous fellow and 'Malay Pied Giant Squirrel' (*Ratufa melanopepla peninsulae*), which is 33 inches long, and is evidently related to '*Zahkai*' of the Kachin Hills, and *R. maxima* of Malabar.

369. While the genius of the Kachins turns to shooting, that of the Chins lies in the direction of traps, whereby passing animals are led to a series of intricate springs which, on being released, let fall a heavy bit of timber. In this way they laid out a varied bag of bear, deer, monkey, iguana, pig and leopard. These people of Burma have really no place in the story of Malay, but space may be devoted to one or two of the Kachin legends unearthed on Wray's Hill. One concerns a harmless kind of centipede to which the Kachins are kind—and as they are Mongolians, without bowels of compassion, there are few animals to which they *are* kind. (The fate of a tortoise to be cut alive from its shell does not bear thinking about !) But this particular centipede did humanity a good turn when a *Nat*, or Godling, wished to destroy Man. To prevent him, the centipede betted that the *Nat* could not count his legs: and just as the count was nearly complete, the centipede waved all his legs (as is his habit)—and the *Nat* could never win his bet.

370. The Pill-Millipede (*Myriopoda chilognatha*), that rolls into a ball, is often played with in the hand. If it uncoils and walks up your arm, it shows that it recognises uncommon wisdom in you.

371. One day we found and killed a snake that had seized a frog, and I declined to allow my Kachin orderly Sau Nan (who thinks he has me more or less under his thumb) to bring the horrid thing home. This greatly annoyed him, and I discovered later that such a mascot (a snake's head grasping a frog) renders the owner invulnerable in argument—which strongly confirms the wisdom of my refusal to allow him such an advantage over me.

372. Then the Night Jar. He was a hunter who slept in the wood—but the elephant trod on him: and hence his flattened appearance in the present incarnation. And the Owl. He was a water-carrier saying '*Bukalwi-lwi*': to which the Night Jar replies '*Hum Hum.*' But that is all we can say of the Kachins here, for we must proceed on our tour to Kuala Kangsa.

373. Kuala Kangsa is twenty-three miles from Taiping. A superb road passes through a neat luxuriance of rice-fields, palm-groves and Malay homesteads. To this quiet beauty, Gunong Pondok (Hut Hill), a 2000-foot limestone peak, adds a striking note of grandeur with its caves, its savage

outline and its colourful precipices. It was a bandits' stronghold during the Larut troubles. The morning mists cling to its summit—and so it stands, the relic of an almost vanished stratum, in the quiet country side.

374. As in Burma, so here also, the names of places often mean something. The commonest place names are *Bukit* a hill, *Gunong* a mountain, *Ulu* a back-wood or source, *Parit* a channel, *Kuala* a confluence, *Tanjong* a cape, *Simpang* a cross road, and *Kampong* a village.

375. Kuala Kangsa is a quiet, neat little town, the political capital of Perak, as Taiping is the administrative capital, and Ipoh the commercial capital. At Kuala Kangsa the Sultan has his palace beside the Perak River. The Mosque is an imposing pile of domes and cupolas, and from its lofty minarets there is a superb view of the surrounding hills, whose blue forests are charmingly blended with the green spaces and general trimness that belong to the towns of the Federated Malay States.

376. There is no radical difference between the Malays of one part and those of another, but the Malays of Perak are an unusually good type, especially round Kuala Kangsa, and in valleys like that on the east of the Larut Hills along the road to Lenggong and Grit. In such retired places they pass their

TIMES—ANCIENT AND MODERN

The dentist and barber perform in the open streets of Taiping. Dental extractions are made for 20 cents, and it is a fact that for decades the street dentists have known a painless process. A stand for taxis lends a modern note.

days in proper ease, from the morning sluice under the water jet, till the evening stroll. And the country is charming. Lenggong means 'encircled,' for the valley is enclosed with hills. At intervals there are villages, rice-fields and betel-groves, with stretches of forest between. There are caves in some of the hills —that called Gua Kajang being a tunnel, or arcade, right through a range. It is a regular thoroughfare, and only about 80 yards long. This extreme narrowness at the base of comparatively high hills is a feature common in Moulmein also.

377. The upper portions of this valley, including Kroh, and the rich mines of Klian Intan, now belong to Upper Perak, having been recently acquired from Siam. Kroh is a charming upland of wide grassy spaces at an elevation of 1000 feet. I spent over two months up there training, and made extensive collections of local insects, which seem to run to a great size. It is also the resort of many beautiful butterflies —Papilios *Delesserti* and a blue form of *Paradoxa*: the mimics *Caunus aegialus* and *Eripus halitherses*: and the great lazy 'paper white'—*Hestia reinwardti*. At Kroh there is a charming little lake, an interesting subterranean river whose bed you can follow, and some hot springs of undoubted medicinal value.

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378. Ipoh, as we have said, is the commercial capital—a place with fine shops and large public buildings. It is a centre from which roads radiate in several directions. A western road runs through Pusing and Siputeh to the delightful little town of Batu Gajah: and via the Blanja Ferry, across the Perak River to Bruas, Sitiawan and Lumut—one of the ports for Pangkor. The last stretch of the Lumut road is dead straight for nearly twenty miles, and I have often motored along it in the moonlight when I had a house on Pangkor Island.

379. The eastern road from Ipoh passes to Tanjong Rambutan, whence may be reached the Ulu Kinta—a fine bit of country dominated by the lofty peak of Gunong Kerbau. Ulu Kinta is about the most northern limit of the great Ornithoptera, *brookiana*. There, these lovely butterflies may be seen fifty at a time, quivering on a salt-lick.

380. Then, south from Ipoh, the main road enters Kinta. Happy are they who own shares in Kinta. Forty per cent of the world's tin comes from the F.M.S. In 1922, the export was 35,286 tons, worth 5½ millions sterling. Kinta is a curious valley, walled with abrupt limestone cliffs and pinnacles, and ranges of weird hills full of caves, which give the landscapes the same wild character as those of Moulmein. Four years ago a part of one of these hills fell down, and

buried a number of coolies who were quarrying beneath. The air-shock was so great that people were killed in a neighbouring village, and palm-trees at some distance were beheaded.

381. In these hills, close to Ipoh, there are some fine Chinese cave-temples which are worth seeing. In the largest there is an entrance hall with various shrines, altars and images, and from there you pass by a series of timber galleries to a second chamber, and thence to higher galleries which command a fine view over the country. In these caves are stalactites shaped like trees, or like petrified cascades, and others that give a chime of Chinese music when struck.

382. This Cave Temple was founded some twenty years ago by a rich Chinaman who was nearly wrecked on his way home, and who vowed, if he was saved, to build a shrine. After the storm he returned to Ipoh, and spent the rest of his life as a hermit in the Cave.

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383. The mining of tin in Kinta is largely in the hands of a French company — *Société Etrangère d'Etat Kinta*—which was one of the pioneers, and claims to be the only concern that has not been amalgamated or reconstructed since 1914. Its mines at Kampar produce sixty tons of ore a month, and are vast pits 200 feet deep and half a mile across, from

which the alluvial, tin-bearing soil has been removed. Water under great pressure is brought in pipes from the mountains to these craters. The soil is washed down, and then sucked up out of the mine into troughs where the tin settles, while the earth passes on to dumps. The high scaffoldings that carry the water from the mines to the settling troughs are quite a feature of the countryside. Chinese mines are now run, as far as possible, on the same principle, but with less machinery and more labour.

384. The hills above Kampar rise to 4000 feet, and round their base is a circular road through valleys rendered beautiful by the boldness of the limestone scenery. This road passes the Chanderiang Falls—one of the beauty spots of Malay. The volume of water is not great, but is well distributed, and comes cascading over long slopes of granite from a height of about 300 feet. The white breakers and naked rock, are framed in a noble setting of virgin forest. This is the easiest and surest place for seeing the ' bird-wing ' *Brookiana*, which can be caught almost from a car. He sails with beating wings over the rocks and cascades, and about the surrounding trees, his green diamonds flashing as he turns. These butterflies, unlike all others, enjoy a light drizzle, and are always most numerous in dull weather.

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385. After Kampar there follows a whole string of little towns:—Tapah, whence are reached the 'Cameron Highlands'—those uplands of romance: Tanjong Malim: and Kuala Kubu. Kuala Kubu has been almost destroyed by the silting up of its river, and will soon have to be abandoned.

386. Then comes Kuala Lumpur, capital of the Federated States, with its fine buildings in the new Euro-Islamic style—that is, with useless cupolas and minarets stuck on quite convincingly (for political reasons). Nevertheless Islam is accidental, and is not at home in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula: is moreover singularly unsuited to the Malay temperament: so that its architecture, too, is rather out of place. What a country it would have been for pagodas! One can imagine how Buddhist Malays would have lined the limestone cliffs with fascinating little shrines. Still, Kuala Lumpur is a fine place with gardens and a good museum, where, in the gallery of butterflies, one may identify the spoil of jungle raids. The Batu Cave at Kuala Lumpur is a lofty cavern in the limestone rock, famous, as already mentioned, for its fauna—notably a white snake. Close by, the 'Klang Gate,' a curious gap in a still more curious ridge of quartzite, is really a beautiful spot. And seventeen miles distant at Dusun Tua there is a most charming little place where hot water springs up into a comfortable bathing shed.

(The name Dusun Tua means 'The old Durian Orchard.') Farther south lies Negri Sembilan, the 'Nine States,' with the pretty little town of Seramban.

387. Such, in brief, is the general aspect of the Malay Peninsula on the west or civilized side, where of course the population is largely concentrated. But behind this busy, prosperous, smiling world of work, petrol, gardens and electricity is the '*Ulu*,' where Time sleeps, and where the jungle Malays live much the same sort of lives as did their forefathers. And behind them again is the forest-home of Sakai and Negritos, who live up trees and under rocks, who eat roots and lizards, who prepare poison for the darts of their blow-pipes; while far away perhaps, they can just hear the thunder of the down Express.

388. And the Jungle! How wonderful, how mysterious, is that endless, limitless wilderness of noble trees, of cruel thorns, of swamps, of matted creeper or impenetrable undergrowth, where movement for even one yard in any direction is completely impossible. There reign the tiger, the tapir, the elephant, the rhino, the python, the insects, the birds.

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389. Finally, we must cross the Peninsula by the one road that leads from Kuala Kubu to the China Sea. It climbs the first twenty miles to 'The Gap'

(2800 feet), and thence to Fraser's Hill (4250 feet), upon which Government lavishes its affection and its funds. Fraser's Hill has not the same wide view as Maxwell's Hill, nor the level expanses of the 'Cameron Highlands': but it possesses a quiet charm of its own, and all the solid comforts that money can bring. And the cool breezes that whisper over the hills are from God alone. These mountains are rich in butterflies. The very rare Lethe, *chandica namoura*, occurs, and on a lime tree at the 'Gap' I caught two of the females of *Memnon Agenor*—forms *Butlerianus* and *Distantianus*. The great Quadrifinae moth, *Nictipao macrops*, passes the day in cracks in the damp rock on the short cut above the 'Gap,' and may sometimes be found a dozen at a time in such places. But for me, the supreme experience was the view vouchsafed of that rarest of all butterflies—the female *Brookiana*. Contrary to custom, she had descended from her high trees to the orange-coloured flowers of a shrub (*Mussaenda frondosa*). The graceful beating of the wings as of a swallow in flight, and the whiteness of their tips, make this female almost more beautiful in the air than the male. Dainty, shy, elusive, she returned to her mysterious haunts; and I shall probably never see her again, or learn the secret of her eggs, caterpillar, chrysalis, or food.

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390. At the 'Gap,' the back-bone of the Peninsula has been climbed, and the road to Pahang drops for sixty-two miles to the little town of Kuala Lipis. The Sultan of Pahang's residence is in distant Pekan on the east coast. But Lipis is the official capital, and the terminus of a railway from the south which will one day open up this eastern side of the Peninsula by pushing on to Kelantan and the Siamese railway in the far north. Such developments, however, are probably still distant. Lipis remains a dreamy little Malay and Chinese town overlooking the Pahang River. Its travelling shops on rafts and boats ply down the silent jungle reaches of the Pahang River to Pekan and the sea.

391. And so, from Lipis and Jerantut, the road continues, lonely, across 109 miles of silent forests of Pahang, to Kuantan and the China Sea. Even a motor drive is something of an adventure, since there are no habitations to speak of, no traffic but the up and down mails: and in 109 miles of ancient jungle a tree is bound to come down here or there. Pahang is the lonely State, the backwood, with 14,000 square miles of trackless forest, and limitless silent hills. It has only 250 miles of road, and a population of less than seven to the square mile. Many are its hidden wonders—a splendid river down which rafts float for days through banks of foliage: a waterfall said to be

(*F. W. Major*)

LONELY PAHANG

Pahang is the lonely State with vast areas and a sparse population. This picture shows Gunong Tahan (7[illegible] feet), the highest peak in the Peninsula, taken from a distance of over sixty miles.

300 feet high: and wild borders marching with those of Kelantan and Trengganu, where rises Gunong Tahan (7000 feet), the highest peak in the Peninsula. Of all that, nothing at all is seen but a hundred miles of magnificent primeval forest—unbroken, untamed: an endless wall of foliage and noble trees, and a road following a lane through jungle that on either hand stretches away inscrutable, untrodden.

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The conclusion of the whole matter is this—that the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago are wonderful places, rescued from confusion, and restored to prosperity, by industry and humane government. Were they better known, they would become a great holiday ground for those in search of sunshine and beauty: but perhaps it is fortunate that Malaya remains what it is—remote and somewhat mysterious. For in these few pages we have not explored the half of it. From the forests of Sumatra to those of New Guinea (that home of the Paradise Birds) there are still places, unknown and romantic, that preserve their secrets: where man is primitive and simple, and perhaps the happier for that. It would be hard to find countries more favoured by Nature, more easy and bountiful, more beautiful and interesting, than these equatorial regions of sunshine and breeze, of hills, of forests and summer seas.

And another conclusion is this—that Malaya has to be regarded as a whole, and not as separate states and islands belonging to this nation or that. Geographically it is one: and historically it is one, with a story that will need comprehensive treatment as a single unit some day. Research and enterprise have still to overcome many problems, including the apparently insoluble secret of numerous races: but the time must come when Science will rescue from obscurity the great Romance that is yet little more than a Legend of Malay.

APPENDIX I

(See Text Para. 76)

List of Malayan Butterflies Caught During Two Years

PAPILIONIDAE

Leptocircus, curius : meges.
Ornithoptera, brookiana : ruficollis.
Papilios, agamemnon : aristolochae diphilus : arycles arycles : antiphates itam puti : caunus aegialus : bathycles bathycloides : clytia clytia dissimilis : clytia ompape : damolion : delesserti delesserti : demoleus : doubledayi : helenus : jason (evemon orthia) : iswara : macareus perakana : memnon agenor : nephelus : neptunis : nomius : nox erebus : nox varuna : palinurus : paradoxa : paradoxus telearchus : polytes : sarpedon.

PIERIDAE

Pieridae—
Appias, andersoni : basava : hippo : lalage lagella : leptis plana : melania : nero.
Catopsilia, crocale : scilla.
Delias, hyparete : orphna : nivius : pyramus thysbe.
Dercas, verheullii.
Hebomoia, glaucippe.
Ixias, birdi.
Pareronia, hippia.
Prioneris, clenanthe themana.
Saletara, nathalia.
Terias, hercabe.

DANAINAE—

DANAIS, aglyia: aspasia: chrysippus: melanippus: melissa septentrionis: melanea: plexippus: plexippus intermedia: tytia.

EUPLAEA, corus phoebus: crameri mardenii: deione menetriesi: diocletianus: dufresne harsii: leucostictos leucogonyis: mazares ledereri: malayica: menetriesi: midamus linn: mulciber.

IDEOPSIS, daos perakana.

HESTIA, lenceus reinwardti.

SATYRIDAE—

ELYMNIAS, discrepans: fratana: hypermnestra: nesaea: penanga: lutescens.

LETHE, chandica namoura: europa.

MELANITIS, ismene: bela.

YPTHIMA, heubneri: pandocus corticaria.

MORPHINAE—

AMATHUSIA, phidippus.

CLEROME, unclassified.

DISCOPHORA, perakensis.

MELANOCYMA, faunula.

NEORINA, krishna lowii.

THAUMANTIS, odana: noureddin.

THAURIA, aliris pseudaliris.

XANTHOTAENIA, busiris.

ZEUXIDIA, aurelius.

NYMPHALINAE—

ATELLA, alcippe alcippoides: phalanta: sinha macromalayana.

ATHYMA, perius.

CETHOSIA, biblis: nethypsea hypsiana.

CHARAXES, durnfordi: polyxena repetitus.

NYMPHALINAE—*cont.*

CIRROCHROA, emalea martini : fasciata fasciata : malaya : orissa.
CYNTHIA, erota erotella.
CYRESTIS, cocles : irmae maenalis.
DICHORRAGIA, nesimachus deiokes.
DOLESCHALLIA, bisaltide pratipa : pratipa.
EULEPIS, athamas : athamas samatha : delphis concha : jalysus moori.
EUTHALIA, bellata goodrichii : evelina compta : julii julii : lepidae matala : lubentina cherionesia : nicevillei.
EURYTELLA, castlenauii.
HYPOLIMNAS, antilope anomala.
JUNONIA, asterie : atlites : wallacei.
KALIMA, limborgi amplirufa.
LEBADEA, alankara malayana.
LIMINITIS, draxa theoda : procris agnata.
MYCALESIS, anapita.
NEPTIS, peraka.
PANTOPORIA, larymna siamensis : nefte nivifera.
PARTHENOS, silvia lilacinus.
PRECIS, iphita horsfieldii.
RAGADIA, crisia siponta.
SYMPHAEDRA, dirtaea.
TERINOS, clarissa : teuthras.
VENESSA, unclassified.

NEMEOBIDAE

NEMEOBIDAE—

ABISARA, harquinus : kausambi.
STIBOGES, nymphidia.
ZEMEROS, emesoides : flegyas albi-punctata.

LYCAENIDAE

APHNARIA—

CHERITA, freja.
NEOCHERETRA, amitra.

ARHOPALINAE—

ARHOPALA, unclassified.

CASTALARIA—

CASTALIUS, roxus.
CATACHRYSOPS, strabo.
DRUPADIA, moorei.
EOXYLIDES, tharis.
JAMIDES, bochus.
LAMPIDES, celeno.
LOXURA, olymnus cassiopeia.

CURETINAE—

CURETIS, malayica.
CYANIRIS, puspa.

DEUDORIGINAE—

HYPOLYCAENA, erylus : phemnis.
THALMA, miniata.

THECLINAE—

PRATAPA, argentea.

HESPERIDAE

HESPERIDAE—

HAZORA, chuza : hadria : vitta.
HIDARI, standingeri.
TAGIADES, atticus : lavata.
TELICOTA, maesina : udaspes folus.

APPENDIX II

(See Text Para. 80)

LEPIDOPTERA: LIST OF 'MODELS' AND 'MIMICS'

MODELS	MIMICS
1. EUPLAEA diocletianus. M. (*Common.*)	CYCLOSIA macularia. F. (*Moth.*) CYCLOSIA macularis. M. (*Moth.*) CYCLOSIA panthona. (*Moth.*) PAPILIO, caunus aegialus. M. (*See also* 2.)
2. EUPLAEA diocletianus. F. (*Rare.*)	EURIPUS halitherses. F. (*See also* 9.) PAPILIO, caunus aegialus. F. (*See also* 1.)
3. EUPLAEA mulciber. M.	PAPILIO, paradoxa. Sp. (*Rare.*)
4. EUPLAEA mulciber. F.	ELYMNIAS nesaea. PAPILIO, paradoxus telearchus. F. (*Rare.*)
5. DANAIS chrysippus.	HYPOLIMNAS, bolina, F., and in Borneo:— H. MISIPPUS F. (*Unlike male.*)
6. DANAIS plexippus. M.	ELYMNIAS fratana. F. (*Unlike male.*) ELYMNIAS hypermnistra. F.
7. DANAIS aspacia. M.	PERERONIA hippa. F. (*Rare. Unlike male.*)
DANAIS tytia.	PAPILIO ajestor ajestor. (Burma.)

8. Papilio aristolochae.	Papilio polytes. (*One of the females.*) Histia rhodope tahanica. (*Day flying Moth.*)
9. Papilio clytia. M.	Euripus halitherses. M. (*See also* 2.)
10. Cyrestis irmae.	Urapteroides astheniata.
11. Ideopsis daos.	Papilio delesserti. Cyclosia pieridoides virgo. (*Moth.*)
12. Geometridae dysphania militaris. (*Moth.*)	Zygaenidae psaphis cama deva. (*Moth.*)
13. Delias aglyia.	Zygaenidae cyclosia pieroides. (*Moth.*)

APPENDIX III

(See Text Paras. 88–97)

List of Malayan Insects Collected During Two Years

Note.—The Mantids, Phasmids, Fulgorids, Longicorns, and generally the orders Neuroptera and Rhynchota of Malaya have not yet been worked out. The Museum collections are still under examination in Europe, so that identification is difficult.

COLEOPTERA

(Beetles, Weevils, etc.)

Adephaga. *Passalidae acerius meyeri.*
Buprestidae. Unclassified, one.
Carabidae. *Mormolyce phyllodes.*
Cerambycidae. *Euryphagus lundii : Lepodera : Otariono-mus :* and two unclassified.
Cicindelidae. *Cicindela arulente.*
Coccinellidae (Lady-birds). Chrysomelidae: and one unclassified.
Curculionidae. *Crytotrachelus.*
Lamellicornia. *Scarabaeidae trichogomphus.*
Lamudae. One unclassified.
Longicornia. Two unclassified.
Lycidae. *Metriorhynchus.*
Malacoderma. One unclassified.
Melolonthidae. *Lepidiota vimaenlata.*
Rhynchophora. *Anthribidae.*
Rhynchophorus. One unclassified.
Tenebrionidae. Two unclassified.

DIPTERA

(Flies)

Bombyliidae (Bee-fly). One unclassified.
Celyphus. One unclassified.
Hermes (Alder Fly). *Maculipennis.*
Syphidae (Hover-fly). *Mesembrius gigas.*
Tabanidae. *Tabanus.*
Tipulidae (Crane Fly). One unclassified.

HYMENOPTERA

(Ichneumons, Wasps, Bees, Ants, etc.)

Apidae (Bees). *Xylocopa aestuans : X. lapites : X. sarawakensis.*
Ichneumidae (Ichneumons). *Eumenidae, Eumenes arcuata : Sphegidae, Sphex lobatus.*
Pompilidae (Digger Wasp). *Macromeris violacea : Salius.*
Scoliidae. *Scolia (Triscolia) procer.*
Vespidae (Wasp). *Ischnogaster.*

NEUROPTERA

(Dragon Fly, May Fly, etc.)

Ascalaphidae. One unclassified.
Odanata (Dragon Fly). *Orthetrum chrysis : O. glaucum : Neurobasis chinensis : Amphiaeschna perampla.*

ORTHOPTERA

(Crickets, Grasshoppers, Mantis, Stick and Leaf Insects.)

Acridiidae (Short-horned Grasshopper). *Acridium succintum : Systella rafflesii : Tranlia : Tryxalis territa :* and one unclassified.

BLATTIDAE (COCKROACH). One unclassified.

GRYLLIDAE (CRICKET). *Acheta : Fasciculata* (possibly new) : *gryllotalp*.

LOCUSTIDAE (LONG-HORNED GRASSHOPPERS). *Eumegalodon intermedius : Mecopoda elongata : Pseudophyllus prasinus : Raphidophora fulva : Sathrophyllia* (possibly new) : and one unclassified.

MANTIDAE (MANTIS). Six unclassified.

PHASMIDAE (GRASSHOPPERS, LEAF INSECTS, STICK INSECTS AND RHASINIDS (?)). *Marivessoidae rosae : Necrosie*. Also four Stick Insects, one Leaf Insect and four others unclassified. Also three Rhasinids, possibly new, see Text, para. 90.

RHYNCHOTA

(Bugs, Cicadidae, Lantern Fly, etc.)

CEROPIDAE. *Surakarta tricolor*, and two unclassified.

CICADIDAE (TREE CRICKETS). *Heuchys fusa : Platylomia spinosa : Platypleura kaempferi : Pomponia imperatoria : Puranoides klossi : Tacua speciosa : Trengganua sybylla*.

COREIDAE (STINK BUGS). *Physomerus grossipes : Prionlomia : Dividymus*.

FULGORIDAE (LANTERN FLY). *Fulgora : Pyrops :* and three unclassified.

HETEROPTERA. One unclassified.

PENTATOMIDAE (STINK BUGS). *Catacanthus incarnatus : Chrysocoris ornatus : Eusthenes robustus : Onclyaspis : Pycanum rubens*.

APPENDIX IV

AN UNUSUAL LUNAR ECLIPSE

The following description of a curious Lunar Eclipse seen at Kroh in Upper Perak is published in the *Meteorological Magazine* (British Museum), No. 715, August, 1925, Vol. LX, pages 166–7:—

"SIR,

"At 11 p.m. on February 20th, 1924, there was an eclipse of the moon, which was witnessed at Kroh in Upper Perak (Malay Peninsula). At the time the British Squadron was cruising, and I hoped that there would be a report, but the incident seems not to have been noticed. I give now the account as I wrote it down in my journal at the time and I should be very glad to have an explanation of the phenomenon.

"20th Feb., 1924. This evening we witnessed a most extraordinary eclipse of the moon. It began normally, with a well-defined shadow, but half an hour later, at 10.45 p.m., a vague smoky shadow, irregular in shape, and with no defined border, filled in the centre of the moon's disc. The brighter edges of the moon round the shadow were angry orange, as if light were passing through a smoke or vapour. (It occurred to me at the time there might have been a volcanic outburst in Java, but this was not the case). At 11.30 p.m. a new and mysterious phase set in, most amazing to watch. Though the sky was completely fine, the full moon came and went, as if it were being crossed by scudding clouds. Often it was completely blotted out, not even a halo being visible, though the adjacent stars were shining as usual. The moon kept reappearing with varying brightness, only to disappear again into complete darkness for as much as half a minute at a time.

"My regiment was in camp at the time. The phenomenon was witnessed by several other officers. Two said they had noticed an unusually fine sunset, though I had not done so.

"C. M. ENRIQUEZ, *Major.*

"TAIPING, FEDERATED MALAY STATES,
May 3rd, 1925."

[The total phase of this eclipse in Perak lasted from approximately 10h. 20m. to 11h. 57m. (Zone Time), and the moon's altitude was high, about 85° at the end of totality. The observation of a central dusky area encompassed by a more luminous orange ring is quite usual during an eclipse and arises from the grouping of the maria on the moon's surface. The brilliancy of the eclipsed moon depends upon the quantity of light refracted through a ring of the earth's atmosphere lying round the great circle where, at the moment under consideration, the sun is on the horizon. The moon is invisible in some eclipses and relatively bright in others, but usually it is quite a conspicuous object. These differences have been explained as due to variations in the amount of refracted light, owing to different conditions of cloudiness, amount of aqueous vapour present, etc., but the subject has apparently never been quantitatively treated. Major Enriquez's observation of the rapid variation of brilliancy during the course of an eclipse is very interesting. On one occasion (October 13th, 1837) Sir John Herschel saw "various and changeable distributions of light" and one or two other observers have noted varying colours during the progress of an eclipse, but a definite observation of rapid changes does not appear to have been previously put on record.—ED. *M.M.*].

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